A COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR OF MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN

BY

SUKUMAR SEN

LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF INDIA
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FOREWORD

A special committee of the Linguistic Society of India met on June 16, 1956 and recommended to the Society the sponsorship and organisation of a series of historical grammars of 18 principal Indian languages and comparative grammars of Indo-Aryan, Middle Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages. This recommendation was unanimously accepted by the Society during its summer meeting the same year and steps were immediately taken to implement the resolution. The Government of India responded to the request of the Society for financial aid and sanctioned one-third of the printing cost for the first volume proposed in this series. There has been considerable delay in bringing out this volume due to conditions beyond the control of the committee on publications. Dr. Sen, the chairman of this committee and Editor of *Indian Linguistics,* has specially revised his earlier work on the comparative grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan for this series as its inaugural volume. Other volumes will now follow, it is hoped, at regular intervals. The Treasurer wishes to place on record the thanks of the Society for the sumptuous grants made by the Government of India and the Government of Madras for the first two volumes in this series respectively.

Deccan College, Poona
4th June, 1960

S. M. KATRE

PREFACE

A Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan first appeared serially in the pages of INDIAN LINGUISTICS, beginning with Volume XI, and was subsequently issued separately in book-form. In this second edition I have made some revision and have given a fuller account of the Middle Indo-Aryan literary dialects.

I record my gratefulness to Dr. S. M. KATRE for seeing it through the press and for the Bibliography. I am thankful to Sri Bhavataran DATTA, M.A., for the Index and to the authorities of the G. S. Press for their unstinted co-operation.

Guest House,
Deccan College, Poona
4th June, 1960

SUKUMAR SEN

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTORY

§1. Middle Indo-Aryan started with certain definite phonetic changes and tendencies which gathered force as the language advanced. From the very beginning the sonant *r̥* was lost. Its earliest and most basic resultant in MIA was *a* (through *a*$^{\text{r}}$ from $^{\text{a}}$*r̥*$^{\text{a}}$), as exemplified in RV *vikaṭa-*, Skt. *naṭa-*, *vaṭa-*, etc. The resultant *u* (through *u*$^{\text{r}}$ from $^{\text{u}}$*r̥*$^{\text{u}}$) was certainly older (as witnessed by OP *kunautiy*, *akutā* and late Vedic *kuru*) but destined to remain a dialectal development. The *i* value of *r̥* comes from the pronunciation $^{\text{i}}$*r̥*$^{\text{i}}$ through *i*$^{\text{r}}$. This pronunciation is attested by a number of important words in RV (e.g. *śr̥ṇoti* <**śriṇoti* <**śruṇoti*, *tr̥tīya-* for **tritīya-*, *śithira-* <*śr̥thira-*). The reduction of the long diphthongs *āi*, *āu* to *e*, *o* is another fundamental phonological characteristic of MIA. It resulted from the shortening, in popular pronunciation, of the first element of the diphthongs. Of the consonants the earliest to undergo change were the tri-conjuncts and the bi-conjuncts with a sibilant. Other conjuncts were levelled down by stages. In phonetic change the most advanced was the Eastern dialect and the most conservative was the North-Western where the conjuncts lingered much longer than in any other dialect and which even retained some Indo-Iranian features not attested in OIA.

By the time when the medial conjuncts were levelled down by assimilation and the initial conjuncts simplified in most of the dialects the intervocalic plosives (*k, kh, g, gh; t, th, d, dh; p, ph, b, bh*) began to be affected. One of these sounds, *dh*, was already affected in OIA where in a number of historical forms it was reduced to *h* (e.g. *hita-* <*dhā-*, *śr̥ṇuhi*, <*-dhi*), and this tendency is quite pronounced in the earliest stage of MIA (e.g. Asokan *upadahevu* <**upadadheyuḥ*). The next sounds to suffer change were the dentals *t* and *th*, which intervocally were at first voiced (i.e. became

d and *dh*) and finally lost and reduced to *h* respectively. The vocalisation of *t* and *th* was established in the Eastern and East-Central dialects by the first century B.C. although sporadic loss of intervocalic -*t*- is found some two centuries earlier (e.g. Pillar Edicts of Asoka *cāvudasaṃ* <*cāturdaśam*). The voicing of intervocalic -*k*- which was sporadic in Asokan was quite established in the first century A.D. The loss of intervocalic -*k*- and the reduction of intervocalic -*kh*- to -*h*- was practically complete except in some dialects (as in the case of intervocalic -*d*-, -*dh*-) by the end of the fourth century A.D. Between the voicing (if unvoiced) and the loss or the reduction to -*h*- of an intervocalic plosive there was a very necessary stage of spirantisation. This stage is recorded in the dialect-group of the North-West—in the Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions from NW India and Central Asia.

The reduction of the long diphthongs *āi, āu* to *e, o* indicated a tendency which was soon to affect the quantity of vowels in MIA. The long vowels in a closed syllable were shortened. The final *ḥ* was lost after a vowel other than *a*, and final -*aḥ* had a three-fold development: (a) it was lost (as in Old Persian), (b) it took the external sandhi form -*o* (as in Avestan), and (c) it took the internal sandhi form -*e* (as in RV *sū́re duhitā́*). With the exception of *anusvāra* representing final -*m* all final consonants were lost through implosion. This had already happened in Old Persian where beside -*m* only -*r* and -*šh* remained finally. The three sibilants were tolerated for some time only in the dialect-group of the North-West.[1] Elsewhere there was only one sibilant, mostly the dental and rarely the palatal. The difference between *ṇ* and *n* was often more orthographical than phonetic.

The dual number was lost from the very beginning. In RV the dual had a restricted use. In Avestan it is rare and in Old Persian practically lost. Even in RV there is a growing tendency of reducing consonantal stems to vowel stems

1. In the Midland dialect-group of Asokan *ś* and *ṣ* too occur. In the Barabar Cave Inscriptions *ṣ* occurs for *ś*.

(e.g. *nakt-* >*nakta-*). With the loss of the final consonants the MIA declension was almost exclusively confined to the vowel types. The vowel declension chose two main patterns, (a) the *-a* pattern in mc.-nt. and (b) the *ā* (*ī*) pattern in fm. These two converged to a single *-a* pattern at the end of the MIA epoch.

As in Old Persian the dative was replaced by the genitive in MIA although it continued to exist for a time in certain dialect-groups. Owing to convergent phonetic tendencies there was naturally a confusion in some of the oblique case forms. Ambiguity was avoided by the employment of an increasing number of nominal and verbal postpositions.

The perfect tense with all its modal forms, as in Old Persian,[2] was lost, the only survivals were some indicative forms of *ah-* and *vid-* which were not strictly speaking perfects, as their meaning and the absence of reduplication reveal. The subjunctive merged into the optative and the imperative. As in Old Persian the imperfect coalesced with the aorist and formed the preterite tense of MIA. But the finite past tense was doomed. It did not survive in Apabhraṃśa where the past and other participles entirely took up its function, and also of other tenses.

The rich conjugational variety of the present base in OIA was reduced to the thematic type (*-a-*, and *-aya*> *-e-*). Some middle terminations survived sporadically in some conservative dialects of early MIA and had artificial vogue only in some Prakrit dialects. The middle terminations were entirely lost in Apabhraṃśa. The passive voice survived throughout but it partly coalesced with the optative which had a similar base affix. The future continued strong till the second stage of MIA. In Apabhraṃśa the finite future had a growing rival in the present participle and in the gerundive in *-tavya*.

§2. A rough distribution of Indo-Aryan speech into three regional dialect groups—North-Western, Central and East-

2. Strangely enough the only perfect form attested in Old Persian is *çaxriyā* (optative).

ern—may be made on the basis of *r*>*l* towards the close of the Vedic period. This distribution is maintained by the evidence of vocabulary. In *Mahābhāṣya* Patañjali mentions dialect areas with characteristic vocables: *śavati* (<*cyu*, OP *śiyu-*) in Kamboja (the extreme North-West country), *hammati* (<*ham*) in Surāṣṭra (the West country), *raṃhati* (<*raṃh-*) in the Middle-East (*prācya-madhyeṣu*) but it was the root *gam* that the Aryans used; to indicate the chopper the Northerners (Udīcya) used the word *dātra-* while the Easterners (Prācya) used *dāti-*.

§3. The Asokan inscriptions which furnish the earliest and the least adulterated early MIA records of any length indicate four distinct dialect-groups: (i) the North-Western or Kamboja-Udīcya,[3] (ii) the Western or Surāṣṭra, (iii) East Central or Prācya-madhya, and (iv) the Eastern or Prācya. The North-Western is characterised by the retention of the three sibilants and some of the conjunct consonants. The Western is less archaic in phonology than in North-Western but more conservative in grammar and vocabulary. It has the nearest approach to Vedic. The East Central shows a marked preference for *l* and, in common with the Eastern, is much advanced in sound change and in accidence. The Eastern has almost exclusively *l*. As regards vocabulary the Eastern and the East Central belong to the same group. Thus, *gam, bhuj,* are used in the Western; *vrac-, aś-* in the North-Western, but *yā-, ad-* in the East Central and in the Eastern.

§4. The language of the later inscriptions, coming under the growing influence of Sanskrit, had levelled out many of the nicer dialectal differences, and it outlines only three major dialect-groups: (i) North-Western, (ii) Central and (iii) Eastern. The first remained quite apart while the differences between the last two present merely the phonetic side. In Pali we find a complete though artificial synthesis of the Central and the Eastern, the Central dialect predominating. The later inscriptions and Pali clearly indicate that by the

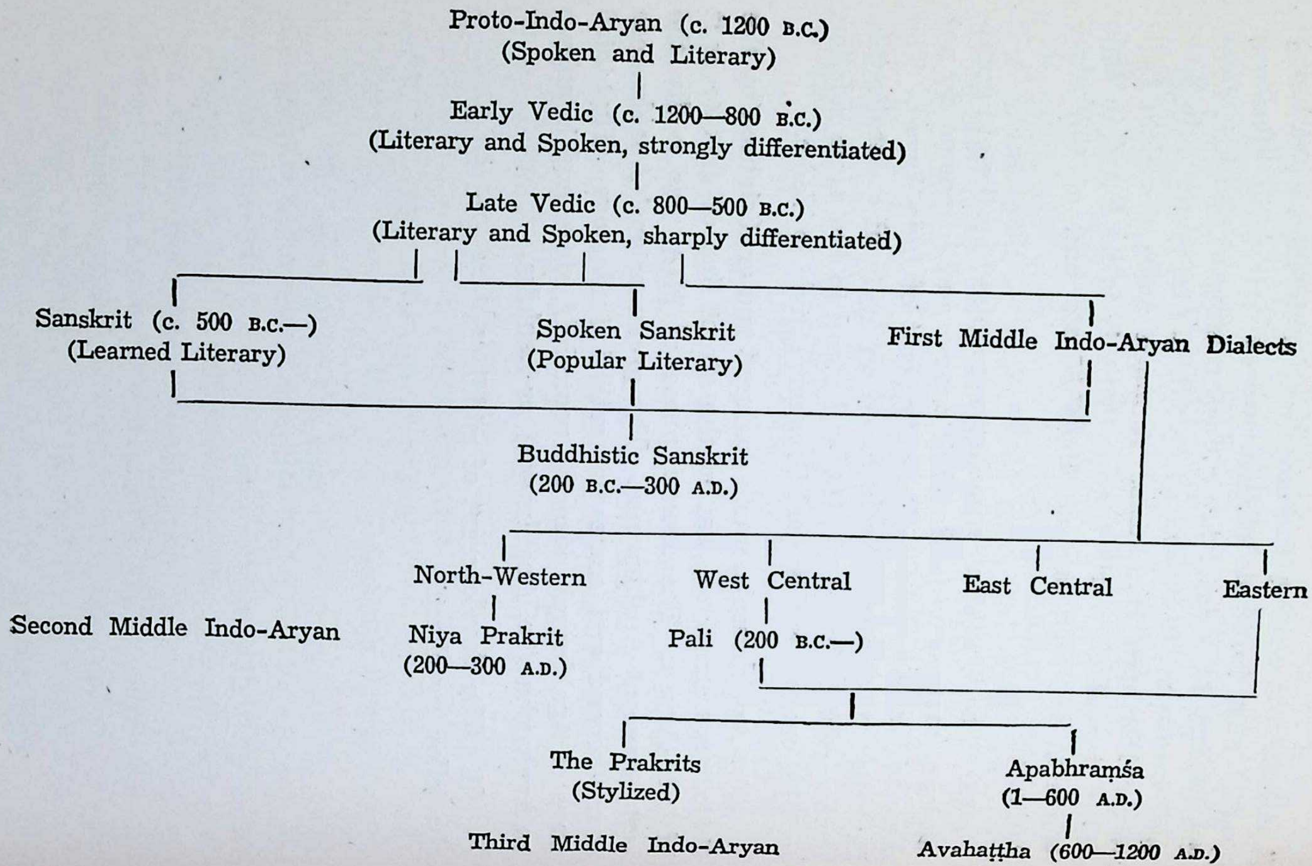
3. Aptly named Gāndhārī by H. W. Bailey.

end of the first century B.C. there was established a pan-Indian form of MIA in administrative use as well as in literature. This literary MIA receiving a thick coating of Sanskrit developed into what is known as Buddhistic Sanskrit, cultivated by the Northern Buddhists. A much more complete Sanskritisation of the early literary MIA is to be found in Epic Sanskrit, the language of *Mahābhārata* and of the older Purāṇas.

§5. The "Prākṛta" speeches, recognised by the old grammarians, that occur in Sanskrit drama and in poems do not come in the direct line of development of Indo-Aryan. The Prakrits are almost entirely based on artificial generalisation of the second phrase of MIA and stand in the same relation to MIA proper as Classical Sanskrit stands to Vedic.

§6. Apabhraṃśa, much confused and artificialised by the Prākrit grammarians, was in the direct line of development of Indo-Aryan. The second phase of MIA was really the early stage of Apabhraṃśa. The grammarians' Apabhraṃśa is the second and somewhat artificialised stage. The third stage of Apabhraṃśa was the proto-NIA stage and is known as Avahaṭṭha (i.e. Apabhraṣṭa) or Laukika.

§7. The development of middle Indo-Aryan is shown in the following chart.



Proto-Indo-Aryan (c. 1200 B.C.)
(Spoken and Literary)
Early Vedic (c. 1200—800 B.C.)
(Literary and Spoken, strongly differentiated)
Late Vedic (c. 800—500 B.C.)
(Literary and Spoken, sharply differentiated)
Sanskrit (c. 500 B.C.—)
(Learned Literary)
Spoken Sanskrit
(Popular Literary)
First Middle Indo-Aryan Dialects
Buddhistic Sanskrit
(200 B.C.—300 A.D.)
North-Western
West Central
East Central
Eastern
Second Middle Indo-Aryan
Niya Prakrit
(200—300 A.D.)
Pali (200 B.C.—)
The Prakrits
(Stylized)
Apabhraṃśa
(1—600 A.D.)
Third Middle Indo-Aryan
Avahaṭṭha (600—1200 A.D.)

Chapter II

LANGUAGES, DIALECTS AND DIALECT-GROUPS

I Inscriptional Middle Indo-Aryan

A. Asokan (Early Inscriptional MIA)

§8. The Asokan Inscriptions are the oldest and best contemporary records of MIA. These are supplemented by much shorter and fragmentary records belonging to the three pre-Christian centuries, i.e. Mahāsthān Stone Plaque Inscription from North Bengal, Jogīmārā Cave Inscription in Central India, Sohgaurā Copper-plate Inscription from North-West Bihar, Besnagar Pillar Inscription in Gwalior, Shinkot Casket Inscription (in Kharoṣṭhi) in North-West India and Hāthigumphā Cave Inscription in Orissa, etc. The Asokan documents show a literary style which was not far removed from the spoken tongue of the time. They present four broad dialect-groups to which the other pre-Christian documents conform.[1] These are: (A) the North-Western dialect-group (or Udīcya), (B) the South-Western dialect (or Pratīcya), (C) the Middle-Eastern dialect-group (or Prācya-madhya) and (D) the Eastern dialect-group (or Prācya).

In the epigraphical orthography a double consonant is written single (e.g. *kk* is written *k*, *kkh* is written *kh*). In the Kharoṣṭhi documents length of vowels is not indicated. The final nasal was a weak sound after a vowel other than *a, ā,* and so it sometimes does not appear after *i, ī, u, ū.*

§9. The North-Western dialect-group is represented by the two N-W versions of the Rock Edicts written in Kharoṣṭhi, the Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra versions. The two versions present dialectal differences. The Shahbazgarhi text is more faithful to the type than the Mansehra text

1. This dialect-distribution is noticed by Patañjali too. See p. 3.

which shows influence of the M-E dialect-group. S shows a slight tendency of unvoicing a voiced consonant (e.g. *paḍhaṃ* <*bāḍham, samayaspi* <*-smin*) and of reducing *e* to *i* (e.g. *duvi* <*dve, bhagi aṃñi* <*bhāge an̊ye*). S has nom. sg. in *-o* while M shows a preference for *-e*. S never changes initial *bh* to *h-*[2] as invariably happens in M[3] and other versions.

The main features of the dialect-group are as follows.

ṛ becomes *ri, ru* or (rarely) *ra* with or without the cerebralisation of a following dental plosive: M *mriga-, vudhresu* (= *vruddhesu*), *vadhri-* (= *vraddhi-*); S *mruga-, kiṭra-* (= *kriṭ-*), *grahatha-*.

kṣ almost always becomes *cch*: S,M *mocha-* <*mokṣa-* etc., but *S khudraka-*, M *khuda-* <*kṣudra* (*ka*)-.

sm and *sv* become *sp*: S,M *-spi* <*-smin* (loc. sg. ending), *spagraṃ* <*svargam*.

Conjuncts in *r* are generally not simplified: S,M *praja, bramana-, dhrama-* (= *dharma-*), *draśana-* (= *darsana-*), etc. but S *diyadha-* M. *diyaḍha-* <*dvi-ardha-*.

Conjuncts in *s* are sometimes assimilated with or without the cerebralisation of the following dental plosive: S,M *grahatha-* 'householder', *asti, uṭhana-* <*ut-st* (*h*) *āna-;* S *asta-*, M *aṭha-* 'eight'.

Cerebralisation of dental plosives is more marked here than in the other dialects. Thus S *vistriṭena*: G. *vistatena* 'in extenso'; S. *aṭhra-*: G *atha-* <*artha-;* M *treḍaśa-*: G *traidasa-* 'thirteen'; S, M *oṣaḍhani*: K, D, J *osadhāni* 'herbs'. In S the cerebral plosives were probably alveolar sounds, otherwise there would not have been any such confusion between cerebrals and dentals as in *srestamati* (beside *sreṭhaṃ*) and *astavaṣa-* (against M *aṭhavaṣa-*).

A consonant assimilates the following *y*: S, M *kalaṇa-* 'blessing', *kaṭava-* 'to be done'; S *apaca* (M. *apatiye*) 'descendants'; but S *ekatie*, M *ekatiya* 'some'.

2. Only one exception is *hoti* (once only).
3. *bhoti* only once.

A nasal conjunct in *y*, and *jñ* are assimilated to *ññ*: S, M *añña-* <*anya-* (but M *aṇatra*), *puññaṃ* (M also *puṇaṃ*) <*puṇyam*, *ñanaṃ* <*jñānam*.

h is rather a weak sound in non-initial positions: S, M *ia* <*iha*, *maa*[4] <**maha* 'my'; S *bramaṇa-*, M *bamaṇa-* <*brāhmaṇa-*; S *garana* <*garhaṇā*.

The gerundial in *-tvī* is peculiar to this dialect-group.

§10. The South-Western dialect is represented by the Girnar Rock Edicts in Junagarh, Gujarat. It is the most archaic of the early MIA dialects. The main features are enumerated below.

Conjuncts in *s* are almost always retained: *asti, hasti-, -sasti-* (also *-saṣti-*); but *ithī* <*strī*.

The OIA root *sthā-* appears in its Indo-Iranian form *stā-* but generally with the cerebralisation of one of the components: *sṭitā, usṭānaṃ* (c. Avestan *ustāna-*) 'energy', *tiṣtaṃto, gharasta-* 'householder'.

kṣ becomes *cch* as in N-W: *vrachā* 'trees', *chuda(ka)-* <*kṣudra(ka)-*; but *ithī-jhakha-* <*strī-adhyakṣa-*.

Conjuncts in *r* are as often assimilated as not: *atik(r)ātaṃ* 'passed', *t(r)ī* 'three', *parat(r)ā* 'in after life'; *sa(r)va-* 'all'.

Conjuncts in *y* are assimilated but not *-vy*. *apacaṃ* 'posterity', *kalāna-* 'blessing', *ithī-jhakha;* but *magavyā* 'hunt', *katavya-*.

ṛ becomes *a*, or *u* if *v* precedes: *maga-* 'way', *mata-* (but S *muṭa-*) 'dead', *daḍha-* (but S, M, K *diḍha-*) 'firm', *kataṃñatā* (but S, M, K *kita-*, S *kiṭ(r)a-*) 'gratitude', *vuta-* (also S, M, D; K also *-vata-*) <*vṛtta-*.

-tv- and *-tm-* become *-tp-*, and *dv-* sometimes becomes *db-*: *-tpā* <*-tvā* (gerund), *catpāro* 'four', *ātpa-* 'self, own', *dbādasa-* 'twelve'; but *dve, dvo* 'two'.

The loc. sg. ending *-sm-* becomes *-mh-* as against *-sp-*, in N-W and *-s(s)-* elsewhere: *-mhi* <*-smin*.

4. It may stand for *maya* or *mama*.

Some middle endings[5] of the finite verb are preserved only here.

There are some vocables peculiar to the dialect: *thaïra-* (elsewhere *vuḍha-*) 'old man', *pantha-* (elsewhere *maga-*) 'path', *yārisa- .. tārisa-* (elsewhere (*y*)*ādisa- .. tādisa-*) 'so ... so', *mahiḍā-* 'lady', *pasati* (elsewhere *dakhati, dekhati*) 'sees'.

Both the full form *bhavati* and the developed *hoti* are impartially used.

§11. The Middle Eastern dialect-group is represented by the Kalsi (near Mussorie) version of the Rock Edicts and the Topra (Delhi) Pillar Edict. The Jogīmāra Cave inscription also belongs to this dialect, but it has only *ś*. The Nāgarjuni Hill Cave inscription of Daśaratha has only *ṣ* which may be only an orthographic variant of *ś* or *ṣ*. In common with the Eastern dialect-group the ME dialect shows the following characteristics.

r is generally replaced by *l*.

ś and *ṣ* remain sporadically.

Final *-aḥ* becomes *e*.

Final *-a* is often lengthened: *āhā* <*āha;* K *lokasā* 'of the people'. The pleonastic affix *-ka* (*-kī*) is largely used and it often appears in the palatalized form *-kya* (*-kyī*): K *nātikya-* 'kinsman'; T *aḍhakosikya-* <*-krośika-;* Jogimārā *devadaśikyi* <*-dāśikī.*

There is a tendency to change medial *o* to *e*: *kaleti* <*karoti.*

Conjuncts in *s*(*ṣ*) and *r* are always assimilated: *aṭha* <*aṣṭa, artha-; sava-* 'all', *athi* 'is', *nikhamamṭu* 'let them go out'.

-y becomes *-iy* after *t* and *v* but is assimilated to the preceding *d* and *l*: *apatiya-* 'posterity', *kaṭaviya* <*kartavya-; aja* 'now', *majha* 'middle', *uyāna-* <*udyāna-, kayāna-*

5. Including the archaic *-are, -eran, -āru.*

<*kalyāṇa-*. But assimilation of the group *ty* is not unknown: T *saca-* <*satya-*.

Post-consonantal *-v-* becomes *-u(v)-*, but medial *-tv-* becomes *-tt-*: *duve, duvādasa-;* D, J *atulanā* <*atvaraṇā;* K *kuvāpi* 'anywhere'; PE *suve suve* <*śvaḥ śvaḥ;* K *catāli* 'four'.

-sm- and *-ṣm-* become *-pph-*: *tuphe* 'you', *aphāka(ṃ)* 'our'; K *yetaphā* <*yaḥ tasmāt* or *etasmat.* But the loc. sg. ending *-smin* becomes *-(s)si.*[6]

kṣ always becomes *(k)kh*: *mokha-* 'release', *khuda-* 'small'; but *chaṇati* <*kṣaṇati.*

Voicing of intervocalic *-k-* appears sporadically: K *aṃtiyoga-* 'Antiochus' (as against G *aṃtiyaka-*, S, M, D, J *aṃtiyoka-*), bh. *adhigicya* <*kṛtya,* J *hida-logaṃ* 'this world'.

The root *bhū-* always becomes *hu-*.

§12. The Eastern dialect-group includes the remaining inscriptions of Asoka (i.e. the Dhauli and Jaugada Rock Edicts, all the Minor Rock Edicts and Pillar Edicts, the Cave inscriptions of Asoka, the Mahāsthān Stone Plaque Inscription, the Sohgaurā Copper-plate Inscription and the Hathigumphā inscriptions of Khāravela and his queens). The main peculiarities that distinguish the Eastern dialect-group from the Middle Eastern are as follows.

-aḥ always becomes *-e* and medial *-o-* often becomes *-e-*.

ś and *ṣ* are always replaced by *s*.

There are copious variants of the inflected form of the first personal pronoun.

The present participle middle affix is *-mīna*: PE *pāyamīna-*, D. *vipatipādayamīna-*.

6. This divergent treatment of the group *-sm-* would make one think of a different source for the ending *-si*, viz., obtained by metanalysis from *-as* stems. But Amg. *-ssim* is obviously connected with A *-si*. In *-smin*> *-(s)si* there is progressive assimilation or an intermediate change to *-spi* (*-sp-*> *-ss-*) is attested in Hath. *bahasati-mita-* <*Bṛhaspatimitra.*) In *-sm-*> *-(p)ph-* the intermediate stage is *-sph-* which was probably a characteristic of the Eastern dialect-group,

B. The Dialect of the Ceylon Inscriptions.

§13. The Ceylon Inscriptions[7] dating between the first century B.C. and the third century A.D. agree to a large extent with the Middle Eastern dialect-group. It has nom. sg. in -e> -i, loc. sg. in *-hi* <*-si* and it occasionally shows *ś* for *ṣ*. With Ap. it agrees in having gen. sg. in *-ha* <*-sa*.

C. The Dialects in Aśvaghoṣa's Drama.

§14. In the fragments of Aśvaghoṣa's drama (c. first century A.D.) recovered from Central Asia and restored and edited by H. LUEDERS (*Bruchstuecke Buddhistischer Dramen*, Berlin, 1911) there occur three distinct dialects. These are (i) the dialect of the Rogue (*duṣṭa*), (ii) the dialect of the Courtesan (*gaṇikā*) and the Jester (*vidūṣaka*), and (iii) the dialect of Gobham-. These dialects practically present the same language as Asokan. With a solitary exception, *surada-* (<*surata-*), voicing of intervocalic plosives is absent. The composition being purely literary, the considerable influence of Sanskrit is not unexpected.

The dialect of the Rogue is termed by LUEDERS as Old Māgadhī (or Eastern Prakrit) as it possesses the three main features of that Prakrit: *l* for *r*, *ś* for *ṣ* and *s*, and *-e* for *-aḥ* (and internal *o*); e.g., *kālanā* <*kāraṇāt, kiśśa* <**kiṣya, vutte* <*vṛttaḥ, kalemi* <*karomi*. Other distinct Māgadhi characteristics are: (i) *ahakaṃ* (A *hakaṃ*) <*aham*, and (ii) genitive singular in *-ho*, viz., *makkaṭaho*.

The dialect of the Courtesan and the Jester is Old Śaurasenī (or Western Prakrit). Final *-aḥ* became *-o* (e.g., *dukkaro, ādaṃso*); *ny* became *ññ* (e.g., *haññantu*), so also *jñ* (e.g. *akitañña*); *ṛ* became *i* (e.g., *hidayena*); *vy* became *vv* (e.g., *dhārayitavvo*); *kṣ* became *kkh* (e.g., *sakkhī, pekkhāmi*); the present participle middle affix *-māna* was preserved (e.g., *bhuñjamāno, pāṭayamāno*, etc.). Other interesting forms are

7. Published in *Epigraphia Zylanica* Vol. I, edited by Don Martino de Zilva WICKREMASINGHE, London 1912.

tuvam (<*tvam;* Old Persian *tuvam*), *imassa* (<**imasya;* A *imasa*), *khu* (A *kho*), *naṃ* (also A), *kahiṃ* (*<*kadhim*), *bhavāṃ* (<*bhavān*), *karotha* (for *kurutha*), *kariya* (<**karya=kṛtvā*), etc.

The speech of Gobham- belong to the Middle Eastern dialect-group (Old Ardhamāgadhī according to LUEDERS). It had *l* for *r*, *-o* for *-aḥ* and no *ś* (e.g., *bhaṭṭidālake, kaleti*). It abounded in the pleonastic affixes *-ka, -āka, -ika* (e.g., *kalamodanākaṃ, -paṇḍalākaṃ* <*pāṇḍara* +).

D. The Dialect-group of the Central Asian Kharoṣṭhī Documents (or Niya Prakrit)

§15. The Middle Indo-Aryan speech in which the Kharoṣṭhī documents recovered from Central Asia by Sir Aurel STEIN are written is known as Niya Prakrit, as the bulk of the texts came from Niya. It was the administrative language of the kingdom of Shan-Shan. The documents are mostly administrative reports from or letters of instruction issued to the district officers and other officials. The date is approximately the third century A.D. The speech originally came from North-West India; it has sufficient agreement with the North-Western dialect of Asokan Prakrit and closer affinity with the language of the Kharoṣṭhi documents from North-West India. It was, however, largely influenced by the neighbouring Iranian, Tokharian and Mongolian speeches. The language of the Kharoṣṭhi *Dhammapada* (*Le manuscript kharoṣṭhi du Dhammapada; les fragments Dutreuil de Rhins,* Emile SENART, *Journal Asiatique* Septembre-Octobre 1898) is akin to N, but being purely a version of an old literary collection, presents a slightly older phase.

§16. The following are the characteristics of the dialect-group of the Kharoṣṭhī documents.

In *tatsama* and semi-*tatsama* words *aya* and *ava* are generally not contracted to *e* and *o* respectively.

Final *-ya, -yā, -ye* become *i*: Khar. D *bhamaṇa'i* <*bhāvanāyām, samad'i* <*samādāya, bhāva'i* <*bhāvayeḥ;* N *muli* 'price', *eśvari* <*aiśvarya-*

Non-initial *e* tends to become *i*: Khar. D *imi* 'these', *ca'uri* 'four', *uvito* <*upetaḥ;* N *ch'itra* <*kṣetra-*.

Final *-o* sometimes becomes *-u*: Khar. D *majhatu* 'by the middle', *pratu* <*prātaḥ*.

o often replaces *u* after *h*, *pr* and *br*: N, Khar. D *baho* 'much, many'; Khar. D *uhu* <**uho* 'both', *brohi* 'I say'; N *prahoḍ'a* <*prābhṛta-*.

Intervocalic plosives, sibilants and affricates are voiced, and with the exception of the sibilant they are sometimes lost with the substitution of glidic *alif* or *-h-*. Khar. D *yadha* <*yathā-, praśajhati,* 'they praise', *sadi'i* <*santike, -bhoha-* <*bhoga-, ma-yi* <*mā-cit, tvaya* < *tvacā* 'skin' *dhammiho* <*dhārmikaḥ, ro'a-neḍa* <*roganīḍa-, paḍhama* 'first'; N *ava-gaj'a* <*avakāśa-, koḍi-,* <*koṭi-, dajha*[8] <*dāsa-, ditae, ditag'a* <**ditaka-* 'given', *goyari* < *gocare, bhoyaṃna* <*bhojana-*.

Voicing of an unvoiced consonant in a nasal or sibilant conjunct occurs in Khar. D: *pagasana* 'sunk in mire', *-sagapa-mano* <*saṃkalpamanas-, paja* 'five', *sija* <*siñca, ekaprana-nu'abisa* <**ekaprāṇānukampiṣya, sabanno* <*sampanna-, duba-kati* <*duṣprakṛti-, saghara* <*saṃskāra-, adara* <*antara-, hadi* <*hanti, kṣadi* <*kṣānti-*.

Unvoicing of a voiced plosive appears sporadically:[9] Khar. D *viraku* <*virāgaḥ, budhakata* <*-gata-, samakata,* <*samā-gataḥ, vikaya* <*vigāhya, yokakṣemasa* <*yoga* +; N *yaka-ch'ema, kilane* <*glānaḥ, taṇṭa* <*daṇḍa-, civarach'i* <*jīva-rakṣi-, poga* <*bhoga, palp'i* <*bali* 'tax'.

The de-aspirating of the voiced aspirate in N is probably due to the influence of the neighbouring Iranian and non-Aryan speeches: *būma* 'land', *tananā* <*dhanānām, sada* 'with'.

The voicing of an initial unvoiced consonant is not unknown. This may be partly due to the defect of the script. Khar. D (C^{ro} 31) *vatita* 'thrown'; N *dena* 'by him', *danu* 'self'.

8. *jh* = *z*.

9. In N the initial consonant is also affected. It probably implies the influence of the local non-Aryan speech. The script is also responsible for the confusion between the voiced and the unvoiced consonants. See BURROW §14.

The simplification and reduction to *h* of *ḥkh* or *kṣ* appears sporadically in Khar. D: *duha* (C^{vo} 25, 42) <*duḥkha-*, *anavehino* (C^{vo} 33), <*anapekṣiṇaḥ*, *aveha* <*apekṣā*.

Owing to its spirantized pronunciation original *dh* (and *dh* developed from *th*) *is* sometimes confused with the sibilant: Khar. D *masuru* (B 11) 'sweet', *gaśana* (C^{ro} 7) <*gāthānām*, *śiśila* (C^{vo} 32) <*śithila-*; N *masu* <*madhu*, *asimatra* <*adhimātrā*, *visinyau* <*vidhijña* (BSOS xi, p. 776).

The three unvoiced sibilants *ś*, *ṣ*, *s* are more or less preserved but the preference is for the dental. The voiced sibilant *z* (written *s* or *jh*) is also there. N has preserved also *z'* (written *j'* or *ś*), γ (written *g* or *y*) and *ṛ* (written *ḍ'*).

The conjuncts *kṣ*, *sk* and *śc* had not yet developed fully into (*c*)*ch*, (*k*)*kh* and (*c*)*ch* as in other MIA and therefore they have separate symbols in the script.

v sometimes becomes *m*: Khar. D *nama* <*nāvam*, *bhamana-* <*bhāvanā-*; N *ema* <*evam*, *cimara* <*cīvara-*.

ṛ appears as *a*, *u*, *ru* or *ri* in Khar. D (e.g., *mutu* <*mṛtaḥ*, *savruto* <*samvṛtaḥ*, *svati* <*smṛti-*, *vriḍha*·<*vriddha-*, *driḍha*) and as *a*, *i*, *u*, *ru* or *ri* (often written *ṛ*) in N (e.g., *anahetu* <*ṛṇa-*, *kiḍ'a*<*kṛta-*, *huḍ'i* <*bhṛti-*, *krita* 'done', *pruchidavo* <**pṛcchitavya-*).

Final *-aḥ* becomes *-o-* in Khar. D which again often becomes *u* (e.g., *panito*, *panitu* <*paṇḍitaḥ*). In N it was either lost (as in Old Persian) or become *e* or *o*: *manuśa*[10] <*manuṣyaḥ*, *se* <*saḥ*, *tado* <*tataḥ*.

Conjuncts in *r* and *l*[11] are often retained: Khar. D *pranodi* <*prāpnoti*, *bromi* 'I say', *tatra'i* <*tatra-cit* or *tatrāyam*, *kīrta* 'fame', *gradhati* (A^3 2) 'hankers after', *drummedhino*= *durmedhinaḥ*, *bhadraśu*, <*bhadraśvaḥ*, *savrasi* <*sarvśaḥ*, *sarvaśu* ibid., *sarvi* (also *savi*) 'all', *dharma* (also *dhama*), *mārga* 'way', *vardhati* (also *vaḍhati*), *parivrayati*[12] <*parivrajati*, *dri-*

10. Burrow would take it to be acc. in origin (§53).
11. *l* is preserved in N only; it is assimilated in Khar. D. e.g., *sagapa* <*saṅkalpa-*, *apa* <*alpam*.
12. Also *vayati* 'moves about'.

gham=dīrgham, metra <*maitra-, parva'idasa* <*pravrajitasya, bhayadaśima* <*-darśi-, sahaseṇa* 'by a thousand', *ṣadhu* <**śraddhaḥ, kuya* <*kuryāt.* N. *agra, atra, alpa, sarva* (also *sava*), *ardha* (also *adha, aḍha*), *sardha* (also *sadha*) 'with', *artha, darśana, kartavo* (also *kaṭavo*), but *aya* <*ārya-, uṃna* <*ūrṇā, uṭa* 'camel', *maṣu* <*śmaśru.*

Nasal conjuncts are assimilated to the nasal: Khar. D *pranodi* <*prāpnoti, paṇido* <*paṇḍita-, daṇa* <*daṇḍa-* but N *daṁḍa*), *china* <*chinda, udumara* <*udumbara-, gamira* <*gambhīra-, bramano* 'a Brahmin', *sañamu* <*saṃyamaḥ, kuñaru* <*kuñjaraḥ, praña* <*prajñā, puñe* <*puṇye, śuña-* <*śūnya-, same* <*samyak-.* N *bhana* <*bhāṇḍa-, chiṃnati* <**chindati, baṃnanae* <*bandhanāya* (but *baṃdhitag'a*), *anati* <*ājñapti-, viṃnati* <*vijñapti-.*

śr becomes *ṣ*: Khar. D *ṣavaka* <*śrāvaka,* N *maṣu* <*śmaśru-. kr, gr, tr, dr, pr, br, bhr* and *st* remain: Khar. D *krodhana, gradhati* 'he encompasses', *trihi* <*tribhiḥ, bhadrañu* <*bhadram* +, *pri'apri'a* <*priyāpriya-; bromi* 'I say', *sabhramu* <*saṃbhrama-, hasta* (also N); N *agra, atra, prati, bhrata.* [H. W. Bailey finds assimilation of *ntr*> *nn* in two instances in Khar. D, *manabhaṇi* (Pali *manta-bhāṇī*) and *tani.* But *mana-bhaṇī* should better be derived from *manda-bhāṇin* 'soft speaking' and *tani* not from *tantre* but from *tāne* (*tāna-* 'fibre, thread')]. *sm* becomes *sv* in Khar. D but is generally assimilated in N: Khar. D *svati* <*smṛti-, aṇusvaro* <*anusmaran, asvi* <*asmin;* N *-ṃmi* <*smin* (loc. sg. ending).

ṣṭ and *ṣṭh* are assimilated: Khar. D *śeṭho* <*śresṭhaḥ, diṭhi* <*dṛṣṭi-, aṭha-* (N also 'aṭa'), N *jeṣṭha-.* But *sth* of the root *sthā* always in Khar. D and often in N becomes *ṭ'h*: Khar. D. *ṭ'haṇehi* <*sthāna-, uṭ'hana-* <*ut-sthāna-, bhuma-ṭ'ha* <*bhūmi-stha-, aṇuṭ'hahadu* <*anusthā* +; N *vaṭ'hayag'a* <*upasthāyaka-* (but *stidag'a, thida*). *ṭ'h* appears in N *kaṭ'ha* <*kāṣṭha-, uṭ'ha* (also *uṭa*) <*uṣṭra-.*

Except in *bhikhu* (once also *bhighu*) *kṣ* remains unmodified in Khar. D and N (where written *ch'*). *s'c* remains in N (written *c''*).

In N conjuncts with sibilants are generally not assimilated: *asti, stitag'a* (but *thida*) <*st(h)ita-, vatsa, kac''i* (=*kaścit*), *muṣg'eṣu* <*muṣkeṣu*, but *aṭhi* <*asthi;* but *aṭ(h)a* 'eight', *kaṭ'ha* <*kāṣṭha-*. In Khar. D conjunct sibilants are mostly assimilated; *pacha* <*paścā(t)*, *aṭha* 'eight', *nikhamadha* <*niṣkramatha*.

tv (*tv* <*tm*) is retained but *v* generally becomes *p* after a sibilant: Khar. D *ñatva* <*jñatvā, tvaya* 'skin', *chitvana* <**chitvāną; atvana* (also N) <*ātmanaḥ, viśpaśa, viśpasi* (C^{vo} 13) <*viśvaset;* N *aśpa* (but Khar. D *avalaśa* <*abalāśvam, bhadraśu* <*bhadrāśvaḥ*), *sve* <*svayaṃ, śpasu* (also *śvasu*) 'sister'. *puṣpa* (but Khar. D C^{ro} 2 *pusaviva* 'like a flower').

dhv is retained in Khar. D: *udhvaradha* <*ūrdhvaratha, adhvana* <*adhvānam*. *v* after *t* and *d* has become *p* in N: *capariśa* <*catvāriṃśat, badaśa* <*dvādaśa* and *biti* <**dvitya-* 'second'.

The acc. sg. ending *-m* has disappeared, so also nom. sg. ending *-s* in N. In Khar. D the nom. sg. ends in *-o*> *-u* or nil.

The especial grammatical characteristics of N are enumerated below.

The dual number survives, as artificial archaism, only in two forms of *pāda-*: *padebhyam* and *padeyo* (*pateyo, padayo*).

The regular gen. sg. ending is *-asa* (= *-aza*).

The finite verb has only the present and the future indicative, the present and the future imperative and the present optative. The last always has the primary endings (as sporadically in Asokan); (e.g. *kareyasi, kareyati, deyāṃti* (*deyeyaṃti*), *syati;* cf. Asokan S, M *apakareyati,* S, M (K, D) *siyati* (*siyāti*). The only perfect (?) form, *ahati* also shows the primary ending as in Asokan S, M *ahati.*

The past tense is regularly formed by the passive participle to which the primary ending *-anti* is added in the third person plural and the corresponding form of the present indicative active of the root *as* in the second and first persons

(e.g. *śrutemi* <*śruto'smi, śrutama* <*śrutāḥ smaḥ, ditesi* <*datto'si, kiṭa* 'he did', *gataṃti* 'they went'). This idiom appears sporadically in later Vedic and in Epic Sanskrit, but does not at all occur in any Middle Indo-Aryan document found in India proper. Nevertheless it is presupposed by an important New Indo-Aryan speech like Bengali.

To distinguish the verbal use of the past participle in the third person singular where the finite form of the verb substantive is not used (as in the periphrastic future in Sanskrit) from the adjectival the pleonastic affix *-ka* is used (e.g. *gata* 'he went', *gatag'a* 'gone').

The gerund is regularly formed with the affix *-tvī* as in NW Asokan (e.g. *śruniti, apruchiti* 'without asking'). Khar. D has also *-tvā(na)* and *-i* <*ya*.

The infinitive is the dat. sg. of a verbal noun in *-ana* (e.g. *gachaṃnae* <**gacchanāya* 'to go', *deyaṃnae* 'to give'; *cf.* A (S) *kṣamanae*. There are a few forms in *-tum* also (e.g. *kartu* beside *karaṃnae, visajidu* beside *visarjanae*); *cf.* Khar. D. *ṣakaru* (?) <*saṃkartum* or *saṃkurvan,* A (G) *karu(ṃ)*, (D, J) *kaṭu.*

II. Literary Middle Indo-Aryan

E. Buddhistic Sanskrit

§17. Literary MIA comprises Buddhistic (Hybrid) Sanskrit, Pali and the several Prakrit and Neo-Prakrit speeches described or mentioned by old grammarians. The over-all influence of Sanskrit is always there but it gradually diminishes as the MIA speeches approach the New Indo-Aryan stage, that is as the gulf between OIA and MIA widenes.

During the pre-Christian centuries the MIA speeches, with the exception of the North-Western dialect were not mutually unintelligible. That is why Sanskrit does not appear in administrative documents (which concerned all including

the ordinary people) before the second century of the Christian era. The North-Western and Western groups of dialects, due to their phonological and morphological peculiarities became sharply differentiated form the Central and Eastern groups, and so it is very significant that the use of Sanskrit for administrative purpose was first made by the rulers of the North-Western region (as evidenced by the Saka Satrap Rudradāman's Girnar Inscription) in the second century A.D.

Buddhistic Sanskrit is not a homogeneous language like Pali or any Prakrit speech. Each text has its own pattern or patterns. (The prose and verse portions of texts like *Mahāvastu* or *Lalitavistara* generally differ in pattern of the language). The special feature of Buddhistic Sanskrit is its impartiality for OIA and MIA forms, roots, stems and affixes.

F. Pali

§18. Pali, a purely non-secular language of Southern Buddhism cultivated in the South-West and the South and under a growing influence of Sanskrit, shows some affinity with the South-Western dialect of Asokan. Its substratum however bears some traces of the Middle Eastern dialect (viz. *-aḥ*> *e* and *r*> *l*). Reduction of voiced aspirates to *h* and loss of intervocalic consonants, indicated by *y* and *v* glides, appear in a very limited number of forms; e.g. *lahu* (also A) <*laghu-, ruhira-* <*rudhira-, sāhu-* <*sādhu-, suva-,*<*śuka-, niya-* <*nija; sāyati svādate.* Voicing of intervocalic consonants is not quite unknown; e.g *udāhu* <*utāho, patigacca* <*paṭikacca* <*pratikṛtya, niyyādeti* <*niryātayati, kheḷa-* <*kheṭa-, pavedhati* <*pravyathate.* Otherwise Pali faithfully follows the norm of early MIA.

The following are the main characteristics of Pali.

The vowel sequence *a a a* (*ā*) is often modified to *a i a* (*ā*) (e.g. *candimā* <*candramāḥ, carima-* <*carąma-, parimą-* <*parama-; saççikạ-* <*satyaka-*).

A short vowel is sometimes lengthened, accompanied by the simplification of a following conjunct (e.g. *sāsapa-* <*sarṣapa-*, *dāṭhā* <*daṃṣṭrā*, *sīho* <*siṃhaḥ*, *vīsati* (also A) <*viṃśati*).

Intervocalic -*ḍ*(*h*)- (sometimes also -*l*-) is changed to -*ḷ*(*h*)- (e.g. *āveḷā* <*āpīḍā*, *mīḷha-* <*mīḍha-*).

There is sporadical unvoicing of voiced consonants and aspiration of non-aspirates (e.g. *chakala-* <*chagala-*, *palikha-* <*parigha-*, *mutiṅga-* <*mṛdaṅga-*, *kusīta-* <*kusīda-*, *sukhumāla-* <*sukumāra-*, *thusa- tūṣa-*, *khujja-* <*kubja-*, *sunakha-* <*śunaka-*, *phala-* <*pala-*).

The conjunct *sm* (*ṣm*, *śm*) is not always changed to *mh* (e.g. *dhammamhi*, but *āyasmā* <*āyuṣmān*).

Interchange of *r* and *l* is not rare (e.g. *pali-* <*pari-*, *kira* <*kila*).

The consonantal declension of the noun is better preserved in Pali than anywhere else, owing no doubt to the great influence of Sanskrit upon Pali literature.

It has preserved a few Vedic archaisms such as the double plural in -*āsas* and the middle plural ending -*are*. Other middle forms of the finite verb occur sporadically.

G. Māhārāṣṭrī

§19. Māhārāṣṭrī, according to the grammarians, is the standard Prakrit. It is also the most advanced, as regards phonetic change, of the MIA dialects of the second stage. There is no reason to assign Mah. to a fixed dialect area. It was the most cultivated Prākṛta language, and almost all Prakrit poetry is written in Mah.

As distinct from the other literary Prakrits Mah. shows the following characteristics.

All intervocalic non-aspirate plosives are elided and all intervocalic voiced aspirated plosives are reduced to -*h*- (e.g. *pāua-* <*prākṛta-*, *pāhuḍa-* <*prābhṛta-*, *kahaṃ*, <*katham*). Before voicing (and spirantization) and final elision (or reduction to -*h*-) an unvoiced non-aspirate is sometimes aspi-

rated (e.g. *ṇihasa-* <**nikhaṣa-* <*nikaṣa-*, *phaḷiha-* <**sphaṭikha-* <*sphaṭika-*, *bharaha-* <**bharatha-* <*bharata-*).

It agrees with early MIA and with Mg. and Amg. in occasionally changing intervocalic *-s-* to *-h-*: *pāhāṇa-* (also Amg.) <*pāṣāṇa-*, *tāha* (also Mg.) <**tāsa* (=*tasya*), *aṇudiaham* <*anudivasam*.

The adverbial affix *-āhi* forms the ablative singular (e.g. *durāhi*, *mūlāhi*; cf. Skt. *dakṣiṇāhi*). The old ablative has survived in some forms (e.g. *gharā* <*gṛhāt*) and forms in *-taḥ* are not unknown (e.g. *uahīu* <*udadhitaḥ*). The locative singular affix *-smin* becomes *-mmi*.

ātman- becomes *appā* as against Ś and Mg. *attā*.

The root *kṛ* becomes *ku-* in the present indicative, as in Old Persian (viz., *kuṇai* <**kunoti*: cf. Old Persian *kunautiy*).

The passive formative affix *-yá-* becomes *-ijja-* as against Ś *-īa-*.

The gerund is formed with the affix *-ūṇa* <*tvāna* (e.g. *pucchiūṇa*). Cf. *abhivādetūnaṃ* (HULTZSCH) in A(bb).

H. Śaurasenī

§20. Śaurasenī is much influenced by Sanskrit. A sentence in Ś. often appears as if translated from Sanskrit. Ś. therefore is partly archaic and partly artificial. Except in Sanskrit drama it does not appear in unmixed form in any literary composition of some length.

The following are its salient features:

Intervocalic *-d(h)-*, whether original or developed out of *-t(h)-*, is retained (e.g. *idha*, *mada-*, *gada-* 'gone', *kadhedu* <*kathayatu*). Intervocalic *-nt-* sometimes becomes *-nd-*: *handa* <*hanta*.

kṣ generally becomes *kkh* as against Māhārāṣṭhī *cch* (e.g. *kukkhi*, *ikkhu-* but Mah. *ucchu*). But exceptions are not few.

Simplification of double consonants is less frequent than in Mah. and Amg. (e.g. *kādum̥* <*kartum*, *ūsava-* <*ussava-* <*utsava-*).

The optative follows the Sanskrit model and not the *-ejja-* model of Mah. and Amg. (e.g. *vaṭṭe* <**vartet*, but Mah., Amg. *vaṭṭejja*).

The passive affix *-yá-* does not generally become *-ijja-* as in Mah. but became *-īa-* (e.g. *pucchīyadi, gamīadi*).

I. Ardhamāgadhī

§21. Ardhamāgadhī, mainly a non-secular language (of Jainism) like Pali is also profoundly influenced by Sanskrit, especially in prose which forms the bulk. Long compounds and tedious repetitions have rendered Ardhamāgadhī prose a very dull reading. But there are good collections of folk tales in Amg. (and in Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī, which is closely allied to Ardhamāgadhī), the narrative style of which indicates unmistakable popular origin.

The following are the main characteristics of Amg.

The final *-aḥ* becomes either *-e* or *-o*, the latter generally in poetry.

The elided intervocalic consonants are often represented by the *y* glide (e.g. *ṭhiya-* <*sthita-*, *sāyara-* <*sāgara-*).

Cerebralization of dentals is much more common than elsewhere.

Intervocalic voiced plosives sometimes remain (e.g. *logaṃsi* <**lokasmin*).

-ss- is often reduced to *-s-* with a lengthening of the preceding vowel (e.g. *vāsa-* <*vassa-* <*varṣa-*). This already occurs in Asokan.

-sm- becomes *ṃs-* (e.g. *aṃsi* <*asmi*, *logaṃsi*).

The Sanskrit gerund in *-tvā* (>*-ttā*) and *-tya* (>*-ccā*) and the Vedic gerund in *-tvāya* survive. The gerundive in *-tavya* is also similarly used. The latter is used as the infinitive (e.g. *gacchittae* <**gacchitvāya* 'to go'), and the

infinitive in *-tum* also as the gerundive (e.g. *kāuṃ* <*kartum* 'to do; having done').

J. Māgadhī

§22. Māgadhī had no literary cultivation. It appears that it was a stylized form of an Eastern speech (of the second stage) that was in use in Sanskrit drama (as the language of lowclass men) for comic relief. As the old grammarians have pointed out it has close affinity with Ś.

The following are the chief characteristics of Mg.

l replaces *r* and *ś* replaces *ṣ* and *s* (e.g. *lājā* <*rājā*, *śuśka-* <*śuṣka-*). *ṣ* is sometimes retained.

Final *-aḥ* becames *-e* (e.g. *śe* <*saḥ*).

y stands for *j* (*j*) and *yh* for *jh* (*jh*), indicating probably a strong spirantic pronunciation (e.g. *yāṇādi*, *ayya-* <*adya*, *ārya-*).

The palatal nasal is preferred in conjuncts (e.g. *kaññakā* <*kanyakā*, *puñña-* <*puṇya-*, *aññali* <*añjali-*).

Conjunct groups with a sibilant are preserved (e.g. *hasta-*, *śuśke* <*śuṣkaḥ*). *cch* becomes *śc* and *kṣ* becomes *śk* (e.g. *gaśca* <*gaccha*, *paśka-* <*pakṣa-* *peśkadi* <*prekṣaṭe*).

Intervocalic *-d-* (original or derivative) is preserved (e.g. *bhaviśśadi*). Other plosives too remain sporadically (e.g. *kaññakā*, *kaññagā*).

Being the dialect of very lowclass characters of diverse types in Sanskrit drama Mg. shows variations, more or less important, in the speeches of different characters. Accordingly the Prakrit grammarians[13] have postulated three dialects of Māgadhī: Śākārī, Cāṇḍāli and Śāvarī.

The following are the characteristic of Śākārī.

c is a strong affricate (*spaṣṭa-tālavya*) and is written *yc* (e.g. *yciṣṭha* <**ciṣṭha* < *tiṣṭha*).

13. See *Prākṛtānuśāsana* of Puruṣottama (ed. Luigia NITTI-DOLCI, Paris 1937) Adhyāyas XIII-XV.

The genitive singular ending is *-aha* (*-āha*) (e.g. *cāludattāha*), as in Apabhraṃśa.

The locative singular ending is *-āhiṃ* (e.g. *pavahaṇāhim* =*pravahaṇe*).

The pleonastic affix *-ka* is largely used.

The loss of case-endings is not infrequent (as in Apabhraṃśa).

The main characteristic of Cāṇḍāli was the copious use of vulgar words and expressions. Śāvarī was characterised by the vocative affix *-ka* indicating familiarity or contempt.

K. Paiśācī

§23. Paiśācī is known to us only from the statement of some Prakrit grammarians. There is reason to believe that there was once good literature in this language. A vast collection of tales in Paiśācī, Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā,* is now preserved in Sanskrit translation and no text of any length in Pai. has reached us. The only specimens of Pai. are to be found in the scanty references and scantier quotations by the old grammarians and rhetoricians. But many of them do not seem to have a direct knowledge of the language. So their references are often contradictory. Pai. has some striking similarities with the N.-W. dialect of early MIA. But that does not necessarily confine its original home to that region. Pai. (and its dialects) seems to have been spoken in other parts of the country including Central India. Its affinity with Apabhraṃśa is clear. On the other hand its conservatism in phonology made Sanskrit influence upon it easier come than in any other MIA speech except Ś.

According to the Prakrit grammarians the two chief characteristics of Pai are: (i) devoicing of intervocalic voiced plosives and affricates (e.g. *nakara-* <*nagara-*, *rācā* <*rājā*), and (ii) non-elision of inter-vocalic plosives.

The later Prakrit grammarians have postulated several dialects of Pai.

L. Apabhraṃśa

§24. The author of *Prakṛta-prakāśa,* the oldest Pkt. grammar known to us, does not recognize Apabhraṃśa. The later grammarians like Puruṣottama and Hemacandra not only discuss Ap. but mention its dialects as well. Dharmadāsa in his *Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana* has given instances of riddles in Apabhraṃśa verse and half-verse. He includes Śaurasenī within Ap. Puruṣottama includes Amg. in Māgadhika. He mentions Mah. as Prākṛta. Besides these three he recognises Paiśācika and Laukika. The latter is apparently the contemporary (*c.* 1100 A.D.) literary form of the proto-vernacular (or Avahaṭṭha).[14]

The term Apabhraṃśa is first used by Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya.* By *apabhraṃśa* and *apaśabda* he means respectively the popular speech (literally 'fallen away *i.e.* from the standard speech, Sanskrit') and the popular vocabulary (literally, 'mutilated word'). Patañjali belonged to the Middle Eastern India, and the popular speech implied by him is the East Central dialect of Middle Indo-Aryan. He quotes as instances of *apaśabda* three synonyms of Sanskrit *go-* 'cow': *goṇī, gotā, gopotalikā. goṇī* occurs in Jaina Mah. and its masculine form occurs in the Middle Eastern (*i.e.* Midland) dialect of Asokan (viz. *gone* nom. sg. and *gonasa* gen. sg.) and in Amg. and Mg.

Puruṣottama the first Prakrit grammarian to discuss Ap. and that more fully than anybody else, recognises three clear dialects of Ap. besides less remarkable local variants. The three dialects are Nāgaraka (Nāgara Apabhraṃśa), Vrācaḍaka (Vrācaḍa Apabhraṃśa) and Upanāgaraka (Upanāgara Apabhraṃśa). Nāgaraka is the main dialect and was the common literary speech and high language of the entire Aryandom. The following are the chief characteristics of Nāgaraka (now generally called Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa).

There is a tendency of nasalizing final *i, u, a.*

14. Since Dharmadāsa is quoted by Sarvānanda in his commentary on *Amarakoṣa* his lowest limit is c. 1150.

Intervocalic *-m-* sometimes becomes *-w-* (with nasalization) of the following vowel; e.g. *kamala-* >*kawā̃la-*, *kumāra-* >*kuwā̃ra-*.

The old gender system is modified. *-ī-* emerges as the living feminine affix; e.g. *puṭṭha-* (<*puṣṭa-*) ms.: *puṭṭhī-* fm. The masculine-neuter in contrast sometimes ends in *ā*.

Various pleonastic affixes such as *-ḍā*: *-ḍī*, *-ulla*: *-ullī*, *-a* (<*-ka*) etc. are added to the noun and adjective stem.

The noun sg. ms. ending *-aḥ* appears as *-a* or *-u* beside the usual *-o* (*-e*). The corresponding nt. ending appears as *-u* or *-a* beside the usual *-aṃ*.

The instr. sg. ms.-nt. ending appears as *-eṇa*(*ṃ*), *iṇa*(*ṃ*), *-eṃ* or *-ṃ*. Thus: *teṇa*(*ṃ*), *tiṇa*(*ṃ*), *teṃ*; *mahueṃ*, *mahuṃ*.

The abl. endings are *-he* and *huṃ*, indiscriminately used for the two numbers. For the sg. there is also *ādu*. Thus: *rucchahe*, *rucchahuṃ*, *rucchādu* <*vṛkṣa-*.

The gen. sg. endings are *-ha*, *-he*, *-ho*, *-su* beside *-ssa*. Thus: *rucchaha*, *rucchahe*, *rucchaho*, *rucchasu*, *rucchassa* <*vṛkṣa-*.

The loc. sg. ending is *-hi*(*ṃ*). Thus: *rucchahiṃ*. The historical forms are also in use.

For fm. stems the instr.-abl.-loc.-gen. endings are *-he* and *-heṃ*. Thus: *khaṭṭāhe*, *raiheṃ* (<*rati-*).

The voc. pl. ending is *-ho*. Thus: *aggiho*, *mahilāho*.

Peculiar pronominal forms are numerous; e.g. *tumhāra* (*tumbhāra*), *āmhāra*, (*āmbhāra*) (pron. adj.); *tai*(*ṃ*), *mai*(*ṃ*) (acc. -instr.- loc. sg.); *tuha*, *tuhu*, *tujjha*, *mahu*, *majjhu* (gen. sg.); *tumhe*, *amhe* (nom. pl.); *tumhahaṃ*, *tumhāiṃ* *amhahaṃ* (acc. pl.); *eha* 'this'; *teha* 'that'; *jeha* 'that'; *keha* 'what'; *kīsa* 'why'; *kīṇa* 'why'; *evaḍḍa* 'this much'; *kevaḍḍa* 'somuch, howmuch'; *jeṃa* 'that way'; *kema* 'what way', etc.

The first person plural ending in the present indicative is *-huṃ*.[15]

15. The endings *-eṃ*, *-uṃ*, *-hiṃ*, *-haṃ*, *-heṃ*, *-huṃ*, are often equal to *-e*, *-u*, *-hi*, *-ha*, *-he*, *-hu*, with the vowels nasalised, that is short in quantity.

The present participle could stand for the three tenses (*traikālye śatṛ*).

The affix for the gerund are usually *-ppaṇa*, *-eppi(ṇu)*, *-evi(ṇu)*. That of the future participle are *-evvau*, *-evā*.

The future participle is also used as the infinitive.

There are special forms of the verb stem; viz. *bolla-* for *vad; mella-, mukka-, mua-* for *muc; ṭhava-* for *sthāpay; caa-* for *śak; vella-, veḍha-* for *veṣṭay; vuḍḍa-, khuppa-* for *masj;* etc.

Metre is almost always rhymed and there is a profuse metrical variety.

III. Languages and Dialects Mentioned by Old Grammarians

M. Prācyā

§25. Prācyā is the third Prakrit speech dealt by Puruṣottama in his grammar. He mentions that Prācyā closely resembles Śaurasenī. The following are given as the salient features of Prācyā.

bhavān >bhavaṃ; bhavatī >bhodī; duhitā >dhīdā; idam >iṇaṃ.

When accosting a person in a lower grade (*hīna sambuddhau*) the voc. ends in *-ā*. The particle *āre* is used as a vocative particle or as an interjection indicating scorn.

vakra >vaṅkuḍa; bhavān (nom. sg.) *>bhavaṃ; bhaviṣyat >hotthamāṇo* (as in Ardhamāgadhī).

N. Āvantī

§26. According to Puruṣottama Āvantī participates equally the characteristics of both Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī (*mahārāṣṭrī-śaurasenyor aikyam*). He mentions the following peculiarities.

dr >d or *dr.*

bhavati >ho(i).

śru-ṣya- >*soccha-*.

tava, mama >*tuhu, mahu*.

O. Śākārī

§27. Puruṣottama calls Śākārī a *vibhāṣā* (sub-language) of Māgadhī (*viśeṣo māgadhyāḥ*). He mentions the following characteristics.

There is often loss, addition or change in the speech-sounds in words.

There is sometimes mutation in the vowels of nominal and verbal endings.

A closed syllable may be optionally long (*saṃyoge gurutvaṃ vā*).

The pleonastic affix *-ka-* is frequently used.

śyāla- >*śiāla-*. *-ṣṭ* >*-śṭ*. *iva* >*vu*.

Nominal endings are sometimes lost.

P. Cāṇḍāli

§28. Puruṣottama calls Cāṇḍālī a degenerate or corrupt form of Māgadhī (*māgadhī-vikṛtiḥ*), and he mentions the following characteristics.

It is a rustic speech.

-aḥ >*-o, -e*; *-smin* >*-mmi*;

-tvā >*iya*; *iva* >*va*; etc.

Q. Śāvarī

§29. According to Puruṣottama it is a dialect of Māgadhī (*māgadhī-viśeṣaḥ*). Its characteristics are as follows.

The non-honorific voc. ending is always *-kā*.

-aḥ >*-a, -e, -i*.

aham >*hake, haṃ*.

prekṣa- >*peśca*,

R. Ṭakkadesī or Ṭakkī

§30. Puruṣottama calls Ṭakkadeśī a sub-language where Sanskrit and Śaurasenī are mixed up (*atha ṭakkadeśīyā vibhāṣā; saṃskṛta-śaurasenyor...*).[16] He mentions the following characteristics:

There is a preponderance of the vowel *u*.

Ins. sg. ending: *-eṃ*. Dat.-abl. pl. ending *-haṃ, huṃ*.

Gen. pl. ending (optionally): *-haṃ, -huṃ*.

tvam >*tuhuṃ; aham* >*hamaṃ* (*hamuṃ*).

yathā >*jidha; tathā* >*tidha.*

S. Nāgaraka

§31. Among the speeches grouped under Apabhraṃśa by Puruṣottama Nāgaraka is treated first and more fully than the other two speeches. The following are some of the important characteristics of Nāgaraka.

The diphthong *au* is sometimes separated into two vowels.

ś, ṣ >*s; y* >*j; n* > *ṇ*; intervocalic *-k-*, *-g-* lost; intervocalic *-p-* > *-b-* and *-ph-* > *-bh-*; intervocalic *-kh-*, *-gh-*, *-th-*, *-bh-* > *-h-* and *-k-*, *-kh-*, *-t-*, *-th-* > (optionally) *-g-*, *-gh-*, *-d-*, *-dh-* respectively.

Pleonastic affixes *-ḍā*, *-ḍī* frequent.

vyāsa- > *vrāsa; bhūta-* > *bhuha, svacchanda-* > *chacchanda.*

The verbs *kṛ-, gam-, bhū-* > (optionally) *kar, gaṃ, ho.*

tvadīya-, madīya- > *tumhāra, amhāra.*

yāvat, tāvat > *jima, tima.*

ṇa, ṇai, ṇāvai, ṇahaṃ, jima, jaṇi used in the sense of *iva.*

kai, kiṃpradu, kiṃpru, kira (*kīra*) used in the sense of *kim.*

16. Puruṣottama mentions that Hariścāṇdra includes Ṭakkī under Apabhraṃśa.

The affix for the gerund (*-tvā*): *-eviṇu, -epiṇu, -eppevu; -tavya* > *-iavva-, -iavvauṃ, -evvauṃ; -tva, -tā* (abstract noun formation) > *-ttaṇa, -ppaṇa, -dā; -da* (pleonastic affix) > *-ulla;* etc.

T. Vrācaḍaka

§32. Puruṣottama takes Vrācaḍaka as an Apabhraṃśa speech. The following are its peculiarities.

ṣ, s > *ś*.

The *c* series pronounced as clear palatals (*spaṣṭatālavyāḥ*). *t, dh* pronounced as slurred (*aspaṣṭau*). Initial *t, d* >*ṭ, ḍ* respectively.

eva > *je, jji. bhū* > *bho-* (non-initially); etc.

U. Upanāgaraka

§33. Under the Upanāgaraka varieties of Apabhraṃśa Puruṣottama mentions local speeches such as Vaidarbhī, Lāṭī, Auḍrī, Kaikeyī, Gauḍī and the speeches of countries such as Ṭakka, Varvara, Kuntala, Pāṇḍya, Siṃhala, etc. According to Puruṣottama, Vaidarbhī abounds in words with the affix *-ulla;* Lāṭī is rich in vocatives; *i* and *o* are very common sounds in Auḍrī; Kaikeyī is fond of repetition (echo words?).

V. Kaikeya Paiśācika

§34. Puruṣottama mentions Kaikeya Paiśācika as corrupt form of Śaurasenī mixed with Sanskrit (*saṃskṛta-śaurasenyor vikṛtiḥ*).

Generally intervocalic *-g-, -j-, -ḍ-, -d-, -b-* >*-k-, -c-, -ṭ-, -t-, -p-,* and *-gh-, -jh-, ḍh-, -dh-, -bh-* > *-kh-, -ch-, -ṭh-, -th-, -ph-*.

ṇ > *n; ny, jñ, ṇy* > *ññ; -ry-* > *-ria-;* anaptyxis in conjuncts.

pakṣma-, sūkṣma- >*pakhama-, sukhama-; pṛthivī* > *puthumī; vismaya-* > *visumaa-; gṛha-* > *kihakaṃ; hṛdaya-* > *hitapakam; iva* > *piva; kvacit* > *kupaci; tiraśca-* > *tiriaṃ; bhū* > *ho-, huva-; yūyam* >*tujjhe; vayam* >*apphe,*

In instr., abl., gen. and loc. sg. *rājan-* becomes *rāci-*.

The affix for the gerund (*-tvā*) is *-tūnaṃ*.

W. Śaurasena Paiśācika

§35. According to Puruṣottama the following are the chief characteristics of the Śaurasena variety of Paiśācika.

r > *l*; *ṣ*, *s* > *ś*; c-series pronounced as clear palatal (*vyaktatālavyaḥ*); *-kṣ-* > *-śk*; *-cch-* > *sc*; *-tth-* > *-śt-*; *-st-* > *st* or *ṣṭ* or (according to some) *th*; *-ṣṭ-* unchanged.

piba- > *pia*; *kṛta-* > *kaḍa-*; *mṛta-* > *maḍa-*; *gata-* > *gaḍa-*; *adhunā* > *ahuṇā*.

-aḥ > *-o*, *-a*; *-am* > *-am*, *-o*, *-a*.

X. Pāñcāla Paiśācika

§36. According to Puruṣottama Pañcāla and other Paiśācika speeches did not vary much from the two standard speeches Kaikeya and Śaurasena. He mentions only one characteristic of Pāñcāla: *l* > *r*.

Y. Cūlikā Paiśācikā

§37. Cūlikā Paiśācikā is mentioned by Hemacandra alone. According to him the following two are its chief characteristics.

g, *j*, *ḍ*, *b* > *k*, *c*, *ṭ*, *p*; *gh*, *jh*, *ḍh*, *bh* > *kh*, *ch*, *ṭh*, *th*, *ph*.

r > *l* (optionally).

IV. Tertiary Middle Indo-Aryan or Proto-Vernacular

Z. Avahaṭṭha

§38. None of the Prakrit grammarians mentions Avahaṭṭha although it was nearest to the spoken language of the earlier grammarians such as Puruṣottama and Hemacandra. To them the spoken language was *generally* known as Deśī ('the country speech') and its literary form, Avahaṭṭha, they took as a degenerated Apabhraṃśa speech. But one gram-

marian at least, the author of *Saṃkṣiptasāra*, has treated Avahaṭṭha although he calls it Apabhraṃśa. The name Avahaṭṭha comes from *apabhraṣṭa*, and one contemporary writer had mentioned the language as Abhibhraṣṭa.[17]

Avahaṭṭha was the immediate ancestor of the literary New Indo-Aryan speeches and as a literary speech it possessed a good semi-religious and secular literature consisting of verse and song.

The salient features of Avahaṭṭha may be mentioned as follows.

There is the marked tendency of contraction of contiguous vowels; e.g. *andhāra-* < *andhaāra-* <*andhakāra-*, *jāṇī* < *jāṇia* <**jānita-* (= *jñāta-*).

Final *-m*, when not combined in Sandhi with a following consonant (as in *kimpi*), nasalizes the preceding vowel and disappears; e.g. *tahī̃* <*tahiṃ*, *jẽ* <*jeṃ* < *jeṇaṃ* <*yena*.

Final *-e*, *-o* are generally reduced to *-i*, *-u*; e.g., *paru* < *paro* < *paraḥ*, *deu* < *deo* <*devo* <*devaḥ*, *khaṇi* < *khaṇe* <*kṣaṇe*.

Initial and medial *e* sometimes becomes *i*; e.g. *ikka-* <*ekka-* <*aikya-* = *eka-*; *picchivi* < *pecchivi* < *prekṣ*+.

Intervocalic *-m-* generally becomes *-v-* and nasalizes the preceding vowel; e.g., *sãva-* < *sama-*.

Final *-aṃ* either drops the nasal or becomes *-u*; e.g. *nara*, *naru* < *naraṃ* <*naram*; *vara*, *varu* < *varam*.

Similarly final *-aḥ* either drops the visarga or becomes *-u* (<*-o*); e.g. *nara*, *naru* < *naraḥ*; *pia*, *piu* < *priyaḥ*.

There is a distinct tendency of levelling the declensional difference between masculine and feminine stems. Thus: *juaiha* (gen. sg. of *yuvati*), *māaha* (gen. sg. of *mātṛ-*).

New pronominal forms come into being; e.g. *eha* "this", *jeha* "that, which", *keha* "what"—in the three genders.

17. Advayavajra says at the end of Saraha's *Dohākoṣapañjikā* says: *dohā abhibhraṣṭavacanasyeti*.

imu < *idam; kemu, kiva* = *katham; jima, tima* = *yādr̥k, tādr̥k; mai*(*ṃ*), *tai*(*ṃ*) "I, you" (nom. and acc.); *amha, tumha* "we, you" (also used in sg.); *amhāra-, tumhāra* = *asmadīya-* (*madīya-*), *yuṣmadīya-* (*tvadīya-*); etc.

The following are the usual endings in the conjugation of the verb (indicative and imperative): (i) first person sg. *-huṃ, -mi,* pl. *-ma;* (i) second person sg. *-i, -u, -hi,* pl. *-ha;* (iii) third person sg. -(*a*)*i, -a,* pl. *nti, -hĩ.*

Periphrasis appears in nominal and verbal idioms.

The vocabulary is distinguished by new stems both nominal and verbal; e.g., *vaṭa* (*vaḍa*) "fool"; *kalla* (*kallī*) "tomorrow, yesterday"; *cikhilla* "muddy"; *khojja* "trace"; *kāla* "deaf"; *bobba* "dumb"; *vuḍ-* "to sink"; *vaḍḍa* "big, high"; etc.

There is an abundance of metrical varieties all showing rhyme, except two: *Dohā* and *Gāhā.*

Chapter III

PHONOLOGY

A. Vowels

§39. MIA possesses the following vowel sounds: *a, i, u* (short); *ā, ī, ū* (long); *e, o* (long in an open syllable, short in a closed). All possible combinations and permutations of double and triple vowels occur, owing to the loss of intervocalic consonants in the later stages of the language.

The MIA vowels generally go back to the OIA source with the following proviso:

(a) An OIA long vowel in a closed syllable becomes short orthographically and/or metrically; e.g. *kaṃtaṃ* < *kāntā̆m, issara-* < *īśvara-*.

(b) In rare instances an OIA short vowel in a closed syllable appears in MIA as a long vowel in an open syllable; e.g. *vīsa (ti)*- < *viṃśa (ti)*; A *avihīsā* < *avihiṃsā;* P *dāṭhā* <*daṃṣṭrā.*

(c) In very rare instances a long vowel in open syllables in OIA becomes short in closed syllables in MIA; e.g. Pkt *hadd (h) i* <OIA *hādhik;* Ap. *tavva* <OIA *tāvat.*

(d) New vowels of anaptyctic and glidic origin are not infrequent; e.g. A *-pasina-* < *praśna-; kasaṇa-* <*kṛṣṇa-;* A (S) *saḍuvīsati* <*ṣaḍviṃśati.* The only instance of prothesis: *itthi-* < *strī-.*

(e) OIA vowel sequence in trisyllabic words is sometimes changed in MIA to conform to the pattern *a (u)*: *i*: *a*; e.g. *munisa-* < *manuṣya-; majjhima-* < *madhyama-; purisa* < *puruṣa-.*

(f) *i* and *u* sometimes result from samprasāraṇa; e.g. A *kaṭaviya-* < *kartavya-, suve- suve* <*śvaḥ- śvaḥ.*

(g) At the later stages single vowels sometimes result from the contraction of two or more vowels; e.g. N *muli* < **mūlia-* < *mūlya-;* Ap. *andhāra-* < *andhaāra-* <*andhakāra-.*

(h) In a few words borrowed from Sanskrit (at the later stages) the diphthongs *ai*, *au* split up into two vowels *aï*, *aü*; *aïrāvaṇa-* < *airāvaṇa-*; *paüsa-* < *pauṣa-*.

§40. OIA *r̥* does not survive in MIA where it becomes *a*, *u*, *i*, *e*, *ri*, *ru*, *re* etc. The tendency of Indo-Iranian *r̥* to become *a* (through *ar*, *ra*) is its oldest development (cf. RV *kaṭa-*, *vikaṭa-*; Skt. *vaṭa-*, *naṭa-*, *bhaṭa-* etc.); *e.g.* A *maga-* < *mr̥ga*, *apakaṭha-* < *apakr̥ṣṭa-*, *maṭa-* < *mr̥ta-*; Pkt. *vasaha-* <*vr̥sabha-*. The change of *r̥* to *u* before *r* is equally old (cf. Skt. *kuru* <**kr̥ru* and Pkt. *kuṇai*) but in MIA this change was generally induced by the immediate presence of a labial consonant; e.g. A *muṭa-*<*mr̥ta-*, *paripuchā* <*paripr̥cchā*, *vuḍha-* <*vr̥ddha-* (but *vaḍhi-* <**varddhi-*). The change of *r̥* to *e* is of extremely rare occurrence (cf. Skt. *geha-*<*gr̥ha-*); A *dekhati* <**dr̥kṣati* (influenced by *prekṣate*?); Pkt. *gejjha* <*gr̥hya*. *e* probably comes through **re* and is therefore a semi-tatsama phenomenon as the change to *ri* and *ru* (after a labial consonant) appears only in Asokan and in later inscriptions in North-Western dialect. In the later phases of MIA *r* of *ri* and *ru* has been assimilated to the preceding consonant (in *rukkha-*<*vr̥kṣa-* the loss of the initial semivowel has preserved the *r*): *mriga-*, *mruga-* <*mr̥ga-*; etc.

§41. The OIA diphthongs *ai*, *au* have become monophthongs, *e* and *o* (pronounced probably as ɛ and ɔ) respectively. In the later language they are sometimes split up into two independent vowels, and it is a change that is semi-tatsama.

§42. In MIA vowel sandhi, which is a rare phenomenon occurring only in phrases where an enclitic particle or a postposition follows or when the metre demands a contraction of vowels, it is generally the following vowel that is preserved and the preceeding one is lost: A *tatesa*<*tata esa* <*tataḥ eṣaḥ*; *pajupadane*<*prajā*+*utpādane*; *upāsakānaṃtikaṃ* *upāsakāna* (*ṃ*) +*antikam*; Khar. D *yaśidha*<*yaśa*+*idha*, *yavadetha*<*yāvatā*+**etra*); N *ajuvadae*<*aja*+*uvadae* 'from today'. Sandhi forms with *iti* following (e.g. A *dhaṃme ti* <*dharmaḥ iti*) are no exceptions as non-initially stressed *iṭi*

had already lost the initial vowel. Such sandhi forms as A *janaṃtū ti, gotī ti, pajopadāye*; Khar. D *narethina* however are reminiscent of OIA sandhi, *jānantviti, *goptīti, *prajot-pādāyai, *nara+istrīṇām.*

§43. The various sources of the MIA vowels are indicated below.

(1) *a*

(i) *a*: *atha* 'now, then'; *nara-* 'man'; etc.
(ii) *ā* (in a closed syllable): A *sasvataṃ* <*śaśvatam*, *nathi*<*nāsti*, *ācariye*<*ācāryaḥ*; etc.
(iii) IIr. **a*: *garu-* (OIA *guru-*).
(iv) *ṛ*: A maga-<*mṛga-*; *kaṇha-*, *kasaṇa-*<*kṛṣṇa-* etc.
(v) Anaptyctic: A *alahāmi*, P *arahāmi*<*arhāmi*; N *garahati* <*garhate*; P *nahāpita-* <**nhāpita-* <*snāpita-*; etc.
(vi) *u* (by assimilation or dissimilation): A, P *pana* <*punar*;[1] Pkt. *maüla-* <*mukula-*; etc.

(2) *ā*

(i) *ā*: A *ācāyika-* <*ātyāyika-*, *āpānāni* 'watering stations'; etc.
(ii) *a* (final): A (K) *janasā* <*janasya*; etc.
(iii) *a* (when a closed syllable becomes open): A (G) *vāsa-* <*varṣa-*, (T etc.) *punāvasune* <*punar-vasu-*, (sn, kb, sc). *bhākhati* <*bhaṅkṣyati*; P *dāṭhā* <*daṃṣṭrā*; Amg. *phāsa-* <*phaṃsa* (P) <*sparśa-*; etc.
(iv) IIr. **ā*: P *gārava-* (Skt. *gaurava-*).

(3) *i*

(i) *i*: A *ciraṭhitika-* 'everlasting'; etc.
(ii) *ī* (in a closed syllable): A (T, Mi) *isyā-*, (D, J), *isā* <*īrṣyā*; A (G, br, sd, jtr.) *digha-* <*dīrgha-*; P *tikhina-* <*tīkṣṇa-*.

1. *pana* may as well be derived from **parṇa-* 'again' as in OP *duvitā parnam*.

(iii) *ī* (when an open syllable becomes closed): A *timni* <*trīṇi.*

(iv) *ṛ*: *diḍha-* 'strong', *mi(g)a-* 'deer'; etc.

(v) *e*: A (S, M) *duvi* 'two', (sn) *ika-* <*eka-;* Khar. D *imi* <*ime;* Pkt. *viaṇā* <*vedanā;* etc.

(vi) postconsonantal *y* (*ya*): A *kaṭaviya-* <*kartavya-; nigoha* <*nyagrodha-;* Wardak Vase Inscr. *mahiya* <*mahya(m)*; A (br, sd) *arogiya-*, N *arogi* <*ārogya-;* Khar. D *bhamana'i* <*bhāvanāya;* etc.

(vii) Anaptyctic: A (bh) *upatisa-pasine* 'Upatiṣya's question'; Khar. D *hiri*, P *hirī* <*hrī;* N *gilanag'a* <*glānaka-;* etc.

(viii) Prothetic: A (S, M) *istri-*, (G, D, K) *ithī-*, P, Pkt. *itthī-* <*strī-;* cf. A (S) *striyaka-*. The prothetic vowel here is probably of pre-IA origin: Av. *iϑejas-* beside Vedic *tyajas.*

(ix) *a* (from vowel harmony, analogy or contamination): A (D, J, K, T) *majhima-*, P *majjhima-* <*madhyama-;* A (K, T) *gihitha-* <*gṛhin+gṛhastha-; uttima-* <*uttama-; carima-* <*carama.* Khar. D *viraṇesu* <**vairiṇa=vairin.* Pkt. *pikka-* <*pakva;* etc.

(4) *ī*

(i) *ī*: A, P *dīpa-* 'lamp'; *A* (G) *tī* <*trī* (Vedic); etc.

(ii) *i* (in a closed syllable becoming open): A (G) *avihīsā* <*avihiṃsā;* A, P *vīsati*[2] <*viṃsati;* P, Pkt. *vīsa*[2] <*viṃśa;* P Pkt. *sīha* <*siṃha-;* etc.

(iii) *i* (by analogy): A (T etc.) *tīsu* <*triṣu,* (D, J) *cilaṭhitīka-* <*-thitika-;* etc.

(iv) *ā* (by contamination): A (G, D, J) *hīnī* <*hīna-+hāni-.*

(v) *i+i* (by sandhi): A (T, etc.) *gotī ti* <**gopti iti.*

2. *ī* here may be pre-IA; cf. Av. *vīsaiti,* Gk. *īkati.* The alterance between a short vowel *plus* nasal and a long vowel without it is also noticeable in Av. *gantuma-;* OIA *godhūma-*, Persian *birinj*: Afghan *virzē* (OIA *vrīhi-*).

(5) *u*

(i) *u*: A *uḍāra-* P *uḷāra-* <*udāra-*; etc.
(ii) *ū* (in a closed syllable): Pkt. *va(d)huṃ* <*vadhūm*; etc.
(iii) *ū* (erratic): A *bhuya-* <*bhūyas-*; A (K) *huta-* <*bhūta-*.
(iv) *ṛ*: A, P *musā* <*mṛṣā*; *vuḍḍha-* <*vṛddha-*; etc.
(v) *a, i, u, au* (by analogy, contamination or assimilation): A *ucāvucaṃ* <*uccāvacam*, *udupānāni* <*udapānāni*, *cu* <*ca* + *tu*; A (S, G) *osuḍhāni* 'medicinal herbs'; Amg. *usu-* <*iṣu-*; etc.
(vi) MIA *o* <*aḥ* or *au*: Khar. D *pradu* <*prātar*, *ṣadhu* <**śraddhaḥ*, *ruvu* <**rupaḥ* (=*rūpam*), *uhu* <*ubhau*; <*itaḥ* Ap. *sīhu* <*siṃhaḥ*; etc.
(vii) *-va*: A (D, J) *atulanā-* <*atvaraṇā*; A, P. *dutiya-* <**dvatīya-* (cf. *dvaṃ-dva-*)=*dvitīya-*; etc.
(viii) Anaptyctic: A (T etc.) *saḍuvīsati-* 'twenty-six'; (ru, mk) *sumi* <(*a*)*smi*; P *paduma-*, Pkt. *pa(d)uma-* <*padma-*.
(ix) *-am* (final); Khar. D, BS, N *ahu* <*aham*; BS *ayu* <*ayam*; *dānu* <*dānam*; Ap. *jaṇu*<*janam*; etc.

(6) *ū*

(i) *ū*: A (G) *bhūta-*, (D, J) *hūta-* <*bhūta-*; (T etc.) *sūkala-* 'boar'; etc.
(ii) *u* (in a closed syllable): P *cūla-* <*culla-* 'small'; Pkt. *ūsava-* <*ussava-* <*utsava-*; etc.
(iii) *u* (erratic): Amg. *mānūsa-* 'man'.
(iv) *u* (by sandhi): A (bh) *jānaṃtū ti* <*jānantu* + *iti*; etc.

(7) *e* (short) occurs only in closed syllables; e.g. Pkt. *tĕlla-* <*taila-*, *pĕmma-* <*preman-*, etc.

(8) *e* (long).

(i) *e*: *lekha-* 'writing': *te* 'to thee, thy'; A *eṭ(r)a*, Pkt. *eṭṭha* <**etra*; etc.

(ii) *ai, aya, ayi, avi, ayo*: P *vera-* <*vaira-*; A (G) *thaïra-*, P *thera-* <*sthavira-*; A *tedasa, tredasa* <**traidasa*, **traydaśa* <*trayodaśa*; N *deyamnae* <*dayanāya*; etc.

(iii) *ṛ* (through **re*): see §23.

(iv) *-ya-*: Khar. D *same-sabudha-* <*samyak-sambuddha-*, *śeadi*, <**śayati*=*śete*; etc.

(v) *-aḥ*: *se* <*saḥ*, <*janaḥ*; N *tade* <*tataḥ*; etc.

(vi) *-o-*: A *-kaleti-*, Mg. *kaledi* <*karoti*.

(9) *o* (short) occurs only in closed syllables; e.g. P *sŏmma-* <*saumya-* (or *somya-*); Pkt. *jŏvvaṇa-* <*yauvana-*; etc.

(10) *o* (long).

(i) *o*: A, P *karoti*; Ś *karodi*; A *asokasa* 'of Aśoka'; Pkt. *loa-* <*loka-*; etc.

(ii) *au*: A *yona-* <**yauna-* (or *yavana-*), *osadhāni* <*auṣadha-*; Pkt. *komu(d)ī* <*kaumudī*; etc.

(iii) *au*: A (Nagarjuni Cave) *codasa-* <**caudasa-*; cf. A (T) *cāvudasaṃ* <*cāturdaśa-*; Khar. D *ca'uri* <*caturaḥ*.

(iv) *ava*: A *bhoti*, A, P *hoti*, Pkt. *bhodi*, *ho(d)i* <*bhavati*; A *orodhana-* <*avarodhana-*; etc.

(v) *-aḥ*: *jano* <*janaḥ*, *so* <*saḥ*; etc.

(vi) *u*: A *porāṇa* <*purāṇā* (or **paurāṇā*), *okapiṇḍe* <*ulkā-piṇḍa-* (or **aulka-*); Khar. D, N *baho* <*bahu*; Khar. D *poruṣa-* <*puruṣa-* (or *pauruṣa-*), *ayo* <*āyu(ṣ)-*; N *laho-* <*laghu-*; etc.

(vii) *a*+*u* (in sandhi); A (K, D) *pajopādāye* <*praja*+*utpāda-*, *mānuṣopagāni* <*mānuṣa*+*upaga-*; etc.

(viii) *-am* (final): A (Ś) *katavo* <*kartavyam*, *śako* <*śakyam*, *anudivaso* <*-divasam*; Khar. D *aho* (also *ahu*) <*aham*, *icho* (B 50) <*iccham*.

§44. MIA possesses the following consonants:

(a) Plosives: *k, kh, g, gh* (guttural); *c, ch, j* (also written *y*), *jh* (palatal affricate); *ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh*, dialectically *ḷ* and *ḷh* (cerebral); *t, th, d, dh* (dental); *p, ph, b, bh* (labial).

(b) Nasals: *ṅ* (generally written *ṃ*, guttural); *ñ* (generally written *ṃ*, palatal); *ṇ* (cerebral); *n* (dental); *m* (labial); *ṃ* (pure nasal, in the latest stage often indicating nasalisation of the preceding vowel).

Nasal aspirates: *ñh, ṇh, nh, mh* (compound sounds, not aspirated nasals).

(c) Semi-vowels: *y* (palatal), *v* (labial); *yh, vh* (dialectally).

(d) Rolled: *r*, (e) Lateral; *l, ḷ* (N *lp'*); *lh, ḷh* (dialectally).

(e) Sibilants (not all the three in a single dialect): *s* (dental), *ṣ* (cerebral), *ś* (palatal).

(f) Spirants (indicated orthographically only in the North-Western Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions and in N: *g'* (=γ; guttural); *s, j', jh, ś* or *y* (dental and palatal); *ḍ'* (flapped); *d'* (=ϑ; dental); *p', p'h* (=f; labial).

(g) Aspirate: *h*.

§45. Heterogeneous conjuncts of OIA are assimilated into double (long) or homogeneous conjuncts in MIA. The main rules of assimilation are as follows.

(a) Between plosives assimilation is regressive,[3] that is the second member prevails: *kt*> *tt*, *tk*> *kk*, *dg*> *gg*, *gdh*> *ddh*, *tp*> *pp*, *pt*> *tt*, *bd*> *dd*, *db* (*dv*)> *bb* (*vv*), *bj*> *jj*, etc.

(b) Plosives assimilate liquids: *kr, rk*> *kk*; *tr, rt*> *tt*; *pr, rp*> *pp*; *gr, rg*> *gg*; *dr, rd*> *dd*; *dhr, rdh*> *ddh*; *bhr, rbh*> *bbh*; *kl, lk*> *kk*; *gl, lg*> *gg*; *pl, lp*> *pp*; etc.

(c) Semi-vowels (if it is not vocalised) are assimilated to a preceding plosive or to the corresponding affricate): *ky*> *kk*, *gy*> *gg*, *cy*> *cc*, *jy*> *jj*, *ṭy*> *ṭṭ*, *ḍy*> *ḍḍ*; *py*> *pp*, *kv*> *kk*, *tv*> *tt*, *dhv*> *ddh*, etc.

3. In the terminology used by American scholars it is progressive assimilation.

But *ty*> *cc*, *thy*> *cch*, *dy*> *jj*, *dhy*> *jjh*, and optionally *tv*> *pp* and *dhv*> *bbh*.

(d) Nasals are assimilated to a preceding plosive: *kn*, *km*> *kk*; *gn*, *gm*> *gg*; *tn*, *tm*> *tt*; *dm*> *dd*. But optionally *tm*> *pp*.

(e) A following sibilant is assimilated to a plosive and the result is *cch*. Optionally *kṣ*> *kkh*, *ts*> *ss*.

(f) A preceding sibilant (or aspirate) is assimilated to a plosive with aspiration: *ṣk(h)*, *sk(h)* > *kkh*; *śc(h)* > *cch*; *ṣṭ(h)* > *ṭṭh*; *st(h)* > *tth*; *sp(h)*, *ṣp(h)* > *pph*. Optionally *śc*> *cc*.

(g) A sibilant followed by a nasal becomes nasal *plus* aspirate: *śn*, *ṣn*, *sn*> *nh* (*ṇh*); *śm*, *ṣm*, *sm*> *mh*; *śn*> *ñh* (dialectally).

(h) A liquid is assimilated to a semi-vowel, nasal or sibilant: *rv*, *vr*> *vv* (*bb*); *ry*> *yy* (*jj*); *rś*, *śr*, *rṣ*, *sr*> *ss* (*śś*); *rm*, *mr*> *mm*; *rṇ*> *ṇṇ*; *hy*> *yh* (*jjh*); *mr*> optionally *mb*. *hr* and *hl* are split up by epenthesis.

(i) *mn*> *nn*.

(j) In a tri-conjunct generally the first two consonants are first affected: *ktr*> **ttr*> *tt*; *ktv*> **ttv*> *tt*; *rdhv*> *ddhv*> *ddh*, *bbh*; *tsn*> **ssn*> *nh*; etc. But if a nasal comes first the last two are assimilated first: *ṅgr* > **ṅgg*> *ṅg*; *ndr*> **ndd*> *nd*; *ndhy*> **n-jjh*> *ñjh*; etc. *kṣm*> *kkh*, *cch*.

§46. Initially a conjunct is simplified, with or without assimilation. The former is semi-*tatsama* treatment and the latter *tadbhava*.

(a) With assimilation: *stūpa-*> P *thūva-* (*thuva*); *tsaru-*> P *tharu-*; *sparśa-*> P *phaṃsa-*; *stana-*> Pkt. *thaṇa-*. *skambha-*> P, Pkt. *khambha*; *kṣetra-*> *khetta-*; etc.

(b) Without assimilation: *brāhmaṇa-* > *bambaṇa-*; *dravya*> *davva-*; *sthavira-*> P *thera-*; *sphurati*> Pkt. *phuraï*: *grāma-*> *gāma-*; *trī*> *tī*; *krūra-*> *kūra-*, etc.

§47. In words borrowed from OIA there is anaptyxis instead of assimilation of the medial and initial conjuncts. For examples see under §43.

§48. Anaptyxis appears, though rarely, in the initial syllable of inherited words. This is semi-*tatsama* treatment. Thus: *glāna-*, *snāpita-*> P *gilāna-*, *nahāpita-*; etc.

§49. The various sources of MIA consonants and consonant clusters are indicated below.

(1) *k*.

(i) *k*: *ko*, *ke* <*kaḥ*; A, P *apakaroti* 'does harm to'; A *atik*(*r*)*ātaṃ* <*atikrāntam*; etc.

(ii) *g*: A (K) *makā*, (S, M) *maka* but (G) *magā* 'Magas'; Khar. D *yokakṣemasa* <*yogakṣemasya*, *roka* <*rogam*; N *ajakra* <*adyāgra-*, *kilane* <*glānaḥ*; P *akaru-* <*aguru-*; Maharatmale Rock Inscr. (Ceylon) *naka-* <*nāga-*, *yāku-* <**yvāgu-* <*yavāgu-*. This is a dialectal treatment.

(2) *-kk-*.

(i) *-kn-*: P *sakkoti* <*śaknoti*.

(ii) *-ky-*: A *saka*, P *sakka-* <*śakya-* (*śākya-*); N *osuka* <*autsukyam*; etc.

(iii) *-kr-*: A *cakavāke* <*cakravākaḥ*; P, Pkt. *cakka-* <*cakra-*; etc.

(iv) *-kl-*: N *suka* (once *śukha*), P. Pkt. *sukka* <*śukla-*; *vikava-* <*viklava-*; etc.

(v) *-kv-*: P, Pkt. *pakka-* <*pakva-*; Pkt. *mukka-* <**mukva-*= *mukta-*.

(vi) *-kṣ-*: P *ikka-* <*ṛkṣa-*, *okkāka-* <**aukṣāka* = *aikṣāka-*, *takasilā* <*takṣaśilā*. Dialectal treatment.

(vii) *-ṅk-*: Khar. D *sakaru* <*saṃkar-*.

(viii) *-ṭk-*: P. Pkt. *chakka-* <*ṣaṭka-*.

(ix) *-tk-*: A *ukasā* <*utkarṣāḥ*; N *balakkarena* <*balātkāreṇa*; etc.

(x) -*rk*-: P *kakka*- <*karka*-; Pkt. *takkemi* <*tarkayāmi*; etc.

(xi) -*lk*-: A *okapiṇḍa*- <**aulka* +; P. *vāka*- <**vakka*- <*valka*-; Pkt. *vakkala*- <*valkala*-; etc.

(xii) -*ṣk*-, -*sk*-: A (K, D, M) *agikaṃdha*- <*agniskandha*-: *dukaraṃ* <*duṣkara*-; N *nikasati* (also *nikhasati*-) <*niṣkasati*, *nikraṃta* <*niṣkrānta*-; P *catukka*-, Pkt. *caükka*- <*catuṣka*-; P *takkara*- <*taskara*-; Ap. *sakkaya*- *saṃskṛta*-; etc.

(xiii) -*ḥk*-: Pkt. *antakkaraṇa*- <*antaḥkaraṇa*-.

(3) *kh*.

(i) *kh*: A *khādiyati*, Pkt. (*khā* (*d*) *ia* (*d*) *i*, *khajjai* <*khādyate*; A *kho*, P, Pkt. *khu* (cf. OIA *khalu*); A, P *mukha*- 'face, mouth'; etc.

(ii) *skh*-: P *khalati*, Pkt. *khala* (*d*) *i* <*skhalati*; *khambha*- <*skambha*-; etc.

(iii) *k*: N *khula*- <*kula*-; P *khujja*- <*kubja*-, *sunakha*- <*śunaka*- (or **śunakha*)-; Pkt. *khappara*- <*karpara*-; P, Amg. *khila* <*kila*; etc. Dialectal treatment.

(iv) *kr*- (probably through pre-IA dialectal **xr*): P, *khiḍḍā* <*krīdā* (cf. Skt. *khela*-); Late Skt. *ākheṭika*- <*ākrīḍin*+ (Pāṇini).

(v) *kṣ*-: *khana*- <*kṣaṇa*-, *khudda*- <*kṣudra*-; etc.

(vi) *gh*: P *palikha*- <*parigha*-; *makhādeva*- <*maghādeva*- (?) Dialectal treatment.

(4) -*kkh*-.

(i) -*khy*-: A (K, T) *mukha*- <*mukhya*-; Pkt. *sokkha*- <*saukhya*-; etc.

(ii) -*ḥkh*-: *dukkha*- <*duḥkha*-.

(iii) -*kṣ*-: A *takhasilā*- 'Taxila': A (K, D, J) *lukha*, P, Pkt. *rukkha* <*vṛkṣa*-; etc.

(iv) -*kṣṇ*-, -*kṣm*-: P *tikkha*- <*tīkṣṇa*-; *lakkhī* <*lakṣmī*; etc.

(v) *-rk-* (dialectal or analogical): A (D) *akhakhase* <*akarkaśaḥ*.

(vi) *-ṣk-, -sk-*: N *nikhal-* <*niṣkalaya-*; P *nikkha-* (*nekkha-*) <*niṣka-*; Pkt. *sukkha-* <*śuṣka-*; A (G) *agikhaṃdhāni* <+*skhandha-*; etc.

(vii) *-ṣkr-*: A (G, K) *vinikhamana-* <*viniṣkramaṇa-*; Khar. D *nikhamadha* <*niṣkramatha*.

(5) *g*

(i) *g*: A, P *garu*, cf. OIA *guru-*; *gihi-* (*gehi-*) <*gṛhin-*; etc.

(ii) *-k-* (intervocalic): A (J) *pala-logaṃ*, *hida-logaṃ*, *hida-logika-*[4] <+*loka-*, +*laukika*, (bh) *adhigicya* <*adhikṛtya*; P *paṭigacca* <*pratikṛtya*, *eḷāmūga-* <*eḍamūka-*; Amg. *loga-* <*loka-*; etc.

(iii) *gh*: N *gasa* <*ghāsa-*, *grida* <*ghṛta-*; Khar. D *gu* (B 21) <*gha*+*tu*. Dialectal treatment.

(iv) *-ṅk-* (intervocalic): Khar. D *pagasana* <*paṅka-sanna-*, *-sagapa-* <*saṅkalpa-*. Dialectal treatment.

(v) *gr-* (initially) *gāma-* <*grāma-*; etc.

(6) *-gg-*

(i) *-gn-*: A *agi-*; P, Pkt. *aggi-* <*agni-*; P, Pkt. *lagga-* <*lagna-*; Pkt. *uvvigga-* <*udvigna-*; etc.

(ii) *-gm-*: Pkt. *jugga-* <*yugma-*.

(iii) *-gy-*: *Pkt. jogga-* <*yogya-*; etc.

(iv) *-gr-*: *agga-* <*agra-*; A *nigoha-*, P *niggaha-* <*nigrada-*.

(v) *-dg-*: P, Pkt. *mugga-* <*mudga-*; Pkt. *uggama* <*udgama*.

(vi) *-rg-*: *magga-* <*mārga-*, *vagga-* <*varga-*; N *nigata-* <*nirgata*.

(vii) *-lg-*: Pkt. *phagguṇa-* <*phālguna-*; *vaggā* <*valgā*.

4. The non-vocalisation of *-ka* indicates, that the affix was living and the consonant was a pronounced *k* (and so written *-ky-* in K, T and in Jogimara Cave Inscr.; e.g. *-lokikya-*, *devadaśikyi*).

(7) -γ- (Khar. Inscr. *g*).

(i) -*g*- (intervocalic): N *bhag'a* <*bhāga-*; Khar. Inscr. *bhag'avato* <*bhagavataḥ*; etc.

(ii) -*k*- (intervocalic): N *aneg'a* <*aneka-*; Khar. Inscr. *nag'arak'asa* <*nagarakasya*; etc. Dialectal treatment.

(8) *gh* (also for *g'*).

(i) *gh*: *ghosa-* <*ghoṣa-*, *ghāsa-* 'grass', *saṃgha-* 'assembly'; Khar. D *g'asedi* = *ghātayati*; etc.

(ii) -*kṣ*- through *χś- > *-γz (*h*-): N *bhighu* (322) <*bhikṣu-*; A (D, J) *caghatha*, (T) *cagha*(*ṃ*)*ti* <*cakṣ-*; BS *pagharati*, P *paggharaṭi* <*prakṣarati*. Dialectal treatment.

(iii) *gr*- (by metathesis of aspiration): Ap. *gheṇai* <*gṛhṇāti*.

(iv) -*ṅk*-, -*ṅg*- (-*ṅkh*-): Khar. D *sag'a* <*saṅga*, *sag'a'i* <*saṅkhyāya*; N *aṃgha* <*aṅga-*, *śighavera* *śṛṅgavera-*, *saṃghalidavo* <*saṃkalitavya-*; etc. Dialectal treatment.

(v) -*ṃsk*-: Khar. D *sag'ara* <*saṃskāra-*. Dialectal treatment.

(vi) -*ṃh*-: N *siṃgha-* <*siṃha-*; Ap. *saṃghāra-* <*saṃhāra*; etc.

(9) -*ggh*-

(i) -*ghn*-: Pkt. *viggha-* <*vighna-*.

(ii) -*ghr*-: P, Pkt. *siggha-* <*śīghra-*, Pkt. *agghāṇa-* <*āghrāṇa-*; etc.

(iii) -*dgh*-: P *ugghāta* <*udghāta-*; etc.

(iv) -*rgh*-: A *digha-*, P *dīgha*, Pkt. *diggha-* <*dīrgha-*; Pkt. *aggha* <*argha-*; etc.

(10) *c*

(i) *c*: *cira-* 'ever', *ca* 'and'; etc.

(ii) *j*: A (S) *vracaṃti*, *vraceyaṃ* <*vraj*[5]; P *pāceti* <*prājayati*, N *caṇati* <*jānāti*, *civa* <*jīva-*; etc. Dialectal treatment.

5. The root however may be **vrac*.

(iii) *t*: A *cu* <*tu* (or *ca*+*tu*); A (K, D, M) *ciṭhitu*, Pkt. *ciṭṭha*(d)*i* <*tiṣṭha*-, Dialectal treatment.
(iv) *ś*: A (D, J, s, b) *cakiye* <*śakya*- (or **cakya*-). Dialectal treatment.
(v) *kṣ*-: P, Amg. *culla*- <*kṣudra*-. Dialectal treatment.
(vi) *cy*-: Khar. D *cuti* <*cyuti*-; etc.

(11) -*cc*-
(i) -*cc*-: *uccāra*- 'excreta'; etc.
(ii) -*cch*-: N *agacati* <*āgacchati*. Dialectal treatment.
(iii) -*cy*-: A, Khar. D *vucati*, P *vuccati* <*ucyate*.
(iv) -*rc*-: A *vacamhi*, *vacasi* <*varcas*-; P *acci* <*arciṣ*-; etc.
(v) -*rch*-: P *muccati* <*mūrchati*.
(vi) -*śc*-: A (S, M) *paca* <*paścā*(*t*); P, Pkt. *niccala*- <*niścala*-. Dialectal treatment.
(vii) -*jy*-: Pkt. *vaccaï*[6] <*vrajyate*.
(viii) -*ty*-: A (G) *paricajitpā*, P *cajati* <*tyaj*-; Besnagar Inscr. *cāga* <*tyāgaḥ*; *sacca*- <*satya*-; A (G) *kacaṃ*, Khar.D, N *kica*, P. Pkt. *kicca*-, *kṛtya*-; etc. Dialectal treatment.

(12) *ch*
(i) *ch*-: *chaṃda*- <*chandas*-, *chāyā* 'shade, shadow'; etc.
(ii) *kṣ*-: A (M, G) *chaṇati*, (K) *chanati* <*kṣaṇati*; etc.
(iii) *ṣ*-: P, Pkt. *cha*, *chakka*- <*ṣaṭ*, *ṣaṭka*-.
(iv) *ś*-: P. *chāpa*-, Amg. *chāva*- <*śāva*-. Dialectal treatment.
(v) *j*-: N *chaṃlpita* <*jalpita*-.
(vi) *ñc*-: A (D, J, K, M, K) *ki*(*ṃ*)*chi* <*kiñcit*. Dialectal treatment.
(vii) -*ñj*-: N *paribhuchanae* <*paribhuñjanāya*.[7] Dialectal treatment.

6. The root however may be **vrac*.
7. Or +* *bhukṣaṇāya*.

(13) -*cch*-

(i) -*cch*-: *A paripuchā* < + *pṛcchā*; N *hach'ati*, P *acchati*, Pkt. *accha*(d)*i* <**acchati*; etc.

(ii) *śc*-: A *pachā*, Khar. D *pacha* Pkt. *pacchā* <*paścā*(*t*); P, Pkt. *acchera*- <*āścarya*-; etc.

(iii) -*kṣ*-. Pkt. *acchi*- (also *akkhi*-) <*akṣi*-; etc.

(iv) -*ts*(*y*)-: A *sa*(*ṃ*)*vachara*- <*saṃvatsara*, (G) *cikīcha* <*cikitsā*; A (T) *mache*, P, Pkt. *maccha*- <*matsya*-; Pkt. *vaccha*- <*vatsa*-; etc.

(v) -*thy*-: Khar. D *micha*-, P, Pkt. *micchā*; P. Pkt. *racchā* <*rathyā*; etc.

(vi) -*ps*-: P, Pkt. *accharā* <*apsarā*; Pkt. *jugucchā* <*jugupsā*.

(vii) -*ṣv*-: Nāgār. Inscr. *pituchā*, Pkt. *piucchā* <*pitṛṣvasā*. Dialectal treatment.

(14) *j*

(i) *j*: *jana*- 'people', *jīva*- 'animal'; etc.

(ii) *y*: A (S, M) *majura*, (K, J) *majūlā* <*mayūrāḥ*; Khar. D *jadi*, Pkt. *jaï* <*yāti*; etc.

(iii) -*c*-: A (J) *ajalā* <*acalā*, A (T etc.) *saṃkuja-mache* <*saṃkuca-matsya*-; Khar. D *ya yi* <*yat cit*, *ida ja* <*idaṃ ca*; Taxila Copper-plate Inscr. of Patika *saja* <*sacā*; N *suji* (*suji- na kirta* 318) <*suci*-; P *sujā* <*srucā*; etc. Dialectal treatment.

(iv) -*ñc*-: Khar. D *paja* <*pañca*, *sija* <*siñca*, *kijaneṣu* <*kiñcaneṣu*, *muju* <*muñcan*. Dialectal treatment.

(v) *jy*-, *dy*-: P *jotati* <*dyotate*; A *joti* <*jyotiṣ*-; etc.

(vi) *dhy*-: Khar. D *j'a'i* <*dhyāyī*; N *jāna*- <*dhyāna*-.

(15) -*jj*- (written also -*yy*-)

(i) -*jj*-: P, Pkt. *lajjā* 'coyness', *sajjā* 'dressing'; etc.

(ii) -*jy*-: N *raja*, P. Pkt. *rajjaṃ* <*rājyam*; etc.

(iii) -*jv*-, *jjv*-: P *pajjalati*, Pkt. *pajjala*(d)*i* <*prajvalati*; *ujjala*- <*ujjvala*-; etc.

(iv) -*bj*-: Pkt. *khujja*- <*kubja*-.

(v) *-dy-*: A, N *aja*, P, Pkt. *ajja* <*adya*; A *uyāna-*, P *uyyāna-*, Pkt. *ujjāṇa-* <*udyāna-*; etc.

(vi) *-ry-*: A (br, sd) *ayaputa-*, P *ayyaputta-*, Pkt. *ajjaütta-* <*āryaputra-*; P *kayya-*, Pkt. *kajja-* <*kārya-*; etc.

(vii) *-ly-*: A *kayāṇa-* (G. S. *kalāṇa-*) <*kalyāṇa*; A (T etc.) *-sayake* <*śalyaka-*; etc.

(viii) *-yá-*: Pkt. *dijja(d)i* <*dīyáte*, *karijja(d)i*: <**karyáte=kriyate*.

(ix) *-jr-*, *-rj-*: *vajja-* <*vajra-*; *ajjana-* <*arjana-*; etc.

(16) *jh* (=Khar. D *j'*)

(i) *dhy-*: P, Pkt. *jhāṇa-* <*dhyāna-*; Khar. D *j'ayatu* <*dhyāyataḥ*; etc.

(ii) *kṣ* (<IIr. **γz'h-*): A (T etc.) *jhāpetaviya-* <*kṣāpay-*; P. Pkt. *jhāma-* <*kṣāma-*; Pkt. *jharaï* <*kṣarati*, *jhīṇa-* (also *khīṇa-*) <*kṣīṇa-*. Dialectal treatment.

(iii) IIr. **z'h*: Khar. D *j'atva* = *hatvā*.

(17) *-jjh-* (also written *-yh-*)

(i) *-dhy-*: *majjha* <*madhya-*; A (G) *ithījhakha-* <*strī-adhyakṣa-*; Khar. D *pra-uj'adi* <*pra-budhyate*; etc.

(ii) *-hy-*: P *mayhaṃ*, Pkt. *majjhaṃ* <*mahyam*; Pkt. *sajjha-* <*sahya-*; etc.

(18) *ñ*

(i) *-n-* (before a palatal): Pkt. *sañjhā* <*sandhyā*; *viñjha* <*vindhya-*; etc.

(ii) *jñ-*: A (G, S, M) *ñātika-* <*jñātika-*; A (S) *ñanaṃ*, P *ñānaṃ* <*jñānam*; Khar. D *ñatva* <*jñātvā*; etc.

(iii) *ny-*: A (G) *ñayāsu*. <*nyayāsuḥ*; P *ñāya-* <*nyāya-*. Dialectal treatment.

(19) *-ññ-* (written also *-ṃñ-*):

(i) *-ñj-*: A (S) *vañanato* <*vyañjanataḥ*; Khar. D *kuñaru* <*kuñjaraḥ*. Dialectal treatment.

(ii) -*ṃy-*: Khar. D *sañama-* <*saṃyama-*, *sañata-* <*saṃyata-*, *bhadrañu* <*bharaṃ *yūḥ*; etc. Dialectal treatment.

(iii) -*jñ-*: A (G) *rāño*, P. *raño*, P. *raññо* <*rājñaḥ*; Khar. D. *prañaya* <*prajñayā*; A (J) *paṭiṃñā* <*pratijñā*; N *yaṃña* <*yajña-*.

(iv) -*ṇy-*: A (S, M, G), Khar. D, N. *pu*(*ṃ*)*ña-*, P *puñña-* <*puṇya-*; P *piññāka-* <*piṇyāka*; etc.

(v) -*ny-*: A (S, M, F) *a*(*ṃ*)*ña-*, N *aña*, P *añña-* <*anya-*; Khar. D *nañeṣa* <*na-anyeṣām*; A (S) *mañati*, (G) *maṃñate* <*manyate*; Khar. D *śuñagari* <*śūnyāgāre*; etc. Dialectal treatment.

(vi) -*ndha-*: Khar. D *baña*(*ṇa*)-, <*bandha*(*na*); *kañaṇa* <*skandhānām*, *gaña* <*gandha-*, *aña-* <*andha-*. Dialectal treatment.

(20) *ñh*

-*śn-*: P *pañha-* <*praśna-*.

(21) *ṭ*

(i) *ṭ*: A (S, M, G) *aṭavi-* 'forest'; A (G) *risṭika-*, a name; Khar. D *diṣṭani* <*dṛṣṭāni*; etc.

(ii) *t* (after *ṛ*): A (S, M, K, D, T) *kaṭa-*, (M) *kiṭa-*, (S) *kiṭa-*, *kiṭra-* <*kṛta-*; A (S, M, G, D, J) *usaṭena*, (K) *uṣaṭena* <*utsṛtena*; etc.

(iii) *t* (after *ra*, *s* or spontaneously): A *paṭi-* <*prati*, (G) *dhaṃmānusaṣṭi-* <+*śasti-*; P *paṭaṅga-* <*pataṅga*; Pkt. *paḍa*(*d*)*i* <*patati*; etc.

(iv) *t* (after pre-IA š): A (G) *sesṭe* <IIr. **sraišta-* (OIA *śreṣṭha-*), *usṭānaṃ* <**uštāna-* <IIr. **utstāna* = OIA *utthāna-*, *tisṭaṃto* <**tištantas*, OIA *tiṣṭhantaḥ*, *tisṭeya* = OIA *tiṣṭhet*.

(v) *ḍ*: N *taṃṭa* <*daṇḍa-*. Dialectal treatment.

(22) -*ṭṭ-*

(i) -*rt-*: A (T etc.) *kevaṭa-*, P *kevaṭṭa-* <*kaivarta-*; A, M, K, D, J, T) *kaṭaviya*, (S) *kaṭava-* <*kartavya-*; P *aṭṭa-* <*ārta-*; P *vaṭṭati*, Pkt. *vaṭṭa*(*d*)*i* <*vartate*; etc.

(ii) *-t(t)-* (after *ṛ, r*): Pkt. *maṭṭiā* < *mṛttikā, vaṭṭa(d)i* <*vartate*; etc.

(iii) *-ṣṭ-*: N *aṭa* (also *aṭha*) <*aṣṭa, uṭa* <*uṣṭra-*; P *maṭṭa-* <*mṛṣṭa-*; etc. Dialectal treatment.

(23) *ṭh*

(i) *-ṭh-*: P, Pkt. *kaṇṭha-* 'neck'; etc.

(ii) *-th-* (after *ṛ, r*): A (S, M, K, D, J) *aṭṭha-* <*artha-*; A (D) *savapuṭhaviyaṃ* <*sarva-pṛthivyām*; P *paṭhavī* <*pṛthivī*, *siṭhila-* <**śṛthira-* for **śrithira-*; etc.

(iii) *-th-* (after *ra*): P *paṭhama-* <*prathama-*; N *praṭha* <**pratham*.

(iv) *-ṣṭ-*: P *veṭhati* <*veṣṭate*.

(v) *st(h)-*: P *ṭhāti* <**st(h)āti=tiṣṭhati*; Pkt. *ṭhi(d)a-* <*sthita-*. Analogical change.

(vi) *-ṃṣṭr-*: P *dāṭhā-* <*daṃṣṭrā*.

(vii) *-ḍh-*: N *triṭha-* <*dṛḍha-*. Dialectal treatment.

(24) *ṭṭh-*

(i) *-ṣṭh-*: A (S, M, K) *s(r)eṭha-*, P, Pkt. *seṭṭha-* <*śreṣṭha-*; A (G) *dhaṃmādhiṭhānāe* <+*adhiṣṭhāya*, (D, J) *niṭhuliyena* <*naiṣṭhuryeṇa*, etc.

(ii) *-ṣṭ-*: A (M) *aṭha*, P, Pkt. *aṭṭha* <*aṣṭa*; A (D, J) *laṭhika-* <**rāṣṭrika-*; P, Pkt. *diṭṭhi-* <*dṛṣṭi-*; etc.

(iii) *-t(h)-* (after pre-IA *š*): A (S, M, K, D, J) *uthana-* (cf. (G) *uṣṭāna-* <**uštāna* = OIA *utthāna-*); cf. P *kaviṭṭha*=OIA *kapittha-*.

(iv) *-sth-*: A (T etc.) *anaṭhika-* =*anasthika-*; P, Pkt. *aṭṭhi-* <*asthi-*.

(v) *-st-*: A (K) *-saṃṭhuta-* <*saṃstuta-* (Su) *dhaṃmānusaṭhi-* <+*śasti-*, (ru) *silāṭhubhe* <*śilāstūpa-* + *stambha-*.

(vi) *-rth-*: P *aṭṭha-* <*artha-*.

(vii) *-ṣṇ-*: Ap. (Eastern) *viṭṭhu-* <*viṣṇu-*. Semi-*tatsama* treatment.

(25) *ḍ*

(i) *ḍ*: A (T etc.) *eḍaka-* 'sheep', *saḍuvīsati* <*ṣaḍviṃśati;* etc.

(ii) *d*: (A ru, s, b) *uḍālā* <*udārāḥ,* (mk) *uḍārika-,* (cf. P *uḷāra-*); A (T etc.) *paṃnaḍasa-* <*pañcadaśa,* A (K, T etc.) *duvāḍasa-* <*dvādaśa;* P *ḍasati, ḍamsa-, saṃḍāsa-* (also Amg.) <*daṃś-;* P *ḍāha-* (*also* Ap.), Khar. D *ḍajhamana-* <*dah-;* Pkt. *āḍahaï, āḍhatta-* <*ādadhāti, ḍolā* <*dolā;* etc.

(iii) *-l-*: A (G) *mahiḍāyo* <*mahilāḥ;* A (T) *daḍi,* (Rdh, Mth, Rp) *duḍi,* (Ksb) *duḍī* = *duli, duḍi-;* P *naḍa-* <*nala-;* etc. The alternance *l* : *ḍ* occurs also in OIA; e.g., *nala-, naḍa-* 'reed'.

(iv) *-ṭ-*: P *nighaṇḍu-* <*nighaṇṭu-;* Pkt. *kuḍumba-* <*kuṭumba-;* Khar. D *jaḍa'i* <*jaṭayā;* etc.

(v) *-t-* (through *-ṭ-*): Khar. D *paḍiruva-* <*pratirūpa.*

(26) *-ḍḍ-*

(i) *-ḍy-*: P, Pkt. *kuḍḍa-* <*kuḍya-.*

(ii) **-ẓ'ḍ-*: P *niḍḍa-,* Amg. *neḍḍa-* <**niẓ'ḍa-,* (cf. *nīḍá-*); P, Pkt. *kaḍḍa-* <**kṛẓ'ḍa-*=*kṛṣṭa-.*

(iii) *-rd-*: P *chaḍḍeti,* Ap. *chaḍḍaï* <*chardayati.*

(iv) *-dr-*: Pkt. *vaḍḍa-* <**vadra-.*

(27) *-ḷ-* (*-ḍ-, -ḍ'-*)

(i) *-ḍ-*: P *damiḷa-* <*draviḍa-.*

(ii) *-ṭ-*: Wardak Vase Inscr. *paḍ'iyaṃśae* <*pratyaṃśāya;* N *kiḍ'a* <**kiṭa* <*kṛta-, pahuḍ'a* <*prābhṛta-.*

(iii) *-ṭ-* (intervocalic): N *kukuḍ'a* <*kukkuṭa-, koḍ'i* <*koti-;* P *kheḷa-* <*kheṭa-, phaḷika-* <*sphaṭika-;* Mg. *saaḷa-* <*śakaṭa-;* Mah. *kakkoḷa* <*karkoṭa-;* etc.

(iv) *-ṇ-* (intervocalic): P *veḷu-* <*veṇu-, muḷāla-* <*mṛṇāla-;* etc. Dialectal treatment.

(v) *-ṭy-*: N *paḍ'eka* <**p(r)aṭyeka-* <*pratyeka-.*

(vi) -*ḷ*- (intervocalic): N *masu-śaḍa* <*madhu-śāla-*. Dialectal treatment.

(28) '*ḍh*'

(i) -*ḍh*-: A *bāḍhaṃ* 'mightily'; A (S, K) *diḍha-*, (G) *daḍha-*, (S, M) *driḍha-*, Khar. D *driḍha* <*ḍṛḍha-*; etc.

(ii) -*dh*- spontaneously: A (G) *osuḍha-*, (S) *oṣuḍha-* <*auṣadha-*.

(iii) -*th*-: Khar. D *paḍhama* <*prathama-*, *paḍha*[*vi*] <*pṛthivī*; Mah. *kaḍhaï* <*kvathati*.

(iv) -*ṭh*-: Pkt. *paḍhaṇa-* <*paṭhana-*, *pīḍha-* <*pīṭha-*; etc.

(v) MIA *ṭh*: Pkt. *ḍhakkaï* <**ṭhakkati* <**sthakyate*; *veḍhaï* <*veṭhati* (P) <*veṣṭate*; Amg. *cimiḍha-* *<*cipiṭha-* <**cipita-* + *piṣṭa-*; etc. Analogical treatment.

(vi) *d* (by metathesis of aspiration): Pkt. *ḍhajja*(*d*)*i* <*dahyate*; Pkt. *āḍhatta-* <**āḍhatta-* =*āhita*.

(vii) -*ḍḍh*-: Ap. *dāḍha-* <*daḍḍha-* (P) <IIr. **daź dha*=*dagdha-*.

(29) -*ḍḍh*-

(i) -*ḍhy*-: P, Pkt. *aḍḍha-* <*āḍhya-*.

(ii) -*rdh*-: A (M, K) *diyaḍha-*, (ru, mk, br, jtr, s) *diyadhiya-* < *dvi-ardha-*, *dvi-ardhika-*; A *vaḍhati*, *vaḍhayati*, P *vaḍḍhati*, *vaḍḍheti*, Pkt. *vaḍḍhe*(*d*)*i* <*vardha*(*ya*)*ti*; A (S, D) *vuḍha-*, P, Pkt. *vuḍḍha-* <*vṛddha-*; etc.

(iii) IIr. -*ź dh*-: P *daḍḍha-*, Pkt. *viaḍḍha-* <**daź dha-* =*dagdha-*.

(30) -*ḷh*- (also written '-*ḍhr*-'): Dialectal.

(i) -*ḍh*-: P *mīḷha* <*mīḍha-*, *vuḷha-* <*vyūḍha-*.

(ii) -*ṭh*-: Khar. Inscr. *paḍhravi-* <*pṛthivī-*.

(iii) -*dh*-: P *dveḷhaka-* <**dvaidhaka-*.

(31) *ṇ* (often merely a graphic variant of *n* or *ñ*).

(i) -*ṇ*-: A (G) *kalāṇa-*; (S, M) *kayaṇa-*, *kalaṇa-* <*kalyāṇa-*; etc.

(ii) *n*: Pkt. *ṇa* <*na*; etc.
(iii) *-jñ-*: A (S, M) *aṇapita-* <*ājñāpita-*, *ājñapta-*; P *āṇā* <*ājñā* <IIr. **āžnā*.

(32) *-ṇṇ-* (often merely a graphic variant of *-nn-* or *-ññ-*)

(i) *-ṇy-*: A (M) *puṇaṃ*, P, Pkt. *puṇṇaṃ* <*puṇyam*; etc.
(ii) *-ṇv-*: P *kiṇṇa-* <*kiṇva-*
(iii) *-ny-*: A (M) *aṇa-*, Pkt. *aṇṇa-* <*anya-*; A (M) *maṇati* <*manyate*; etc.
(iv) *-ñc-*: P *paṇṇāsa* <*pañcāśat*; P, Pkt. *paṇṇarasa* <*pañcadaśa*.
(v) *-jñ-*: Pkt. *aṇahiṇṇa* <*anabhijña-*; etc.
(vi) *-rṇ-*: P, Pkt. *vaṇṇa-* <*varṇa-*; etc.
(vii) *-ṇḍ-*: Khar. D *daṇa* <*daṇḍa-*, *paṇido* <*paṇḍitaḥ*, *-kuṇaleṣu* <*kuṇḍala-*; N *ḇhana* <*bhāṇḍa-*. Dialectal treatment.

(33) *-ṇh-* (*-nh-*)

(i) *-hṇ-*: P, *aparaṇha-* Pkt. *avaraṇha-* <*aparāhṇa-*; Ś *geṇhadi* <*gṛhṇāti*; etc.
(ii) *-hn-*: P, Pkt. *ciṇha* <*cihna-*; etc.
(iii) *-ṣṇ-* (*-rṣṇ-*, *kṣṇ-*): P, Pkt. *kaṇha-* <*kṛṣṇa-* *uṇha-* <*uṣṇa-*; P, Pkt. *panhi-* <*pārṣṇi-*, *abhiṇham* <*abhīkṣṇam*; Nagar. *suṃnhānaṃ* < **suṣṇā-* <*snūṣā-*; etc.
(iv) *-śn-*: Pkt. *paṇha-* <*praśna-*.
(v) *-sn-* (*-tsn-*): P *juṇhā*, Pkt. *joṇhā* <*jyotsnā*; Pkt. *ṇhāṇa-* <*snāna-*; etc.
(vi) *-ṇṇ-* (*-nn*): Pkt. *catuṇhaṃ* (also *catuṇṇam*).

(34) *t*

(i) *t*: *ti* <*iti*; etc.
(ii) *-th-*: P *katika-* <*kathika-*; N *sitila* <*śithila-*, *pratama* <*prathama-* (or Vedic *pratama-*). Dialectal treatment.
(iii) IIr. **t* (before **š*): A (S) *astavaṣa-* <**ašta-varsa-*=*aṣṭa-varṣa-*, (S, M) *nipista-* <**nipišta* = *nipiṣṭa-*.

(iv) *c*: Khar. D *dhamatrakehi* <+*cakrebhiḥ*; P *tikicchati* <*cikitsate*; Amg. *tigicchā*, *teicchā* <*cikitsā*. Analogical or dissimilative.

(v) *d*: A (J) *patipātaya-* <+*pādaya-*; P *pātu* <*prādur*, *kusīta* <*kusīda-*, *mutiṅga-* <*mṛdaṅga-*; Kharavela *ceti-* <*cedi-*; N *tita* <**dita-*=*datta-*, *tui* <*dve*; etc. Dialectal treatment.

(vi) *th*: Perumaiyan Rock Inscr. (Ceylon) *tera-* <*thera-* <*sthavira-*. Dialectal treatment.

(vii) Glidic between *ṃ* and a sibilant (only in Khar. D and N): Khar. D *ahitśa'i* <*ahiṃsā-*, *bhametśu* <**bhaveṃsuḥ*, *satśana* <*saṃsanna-*, *satśara* <*saṃsāra*; N *maṃtsa* <*māṃsa-*. *t* here is merely graphic for the nasal.

(35) *-tt-*

(i) *-tt-*: P, Pkt. *uttima-* <*uttama-*; etc.

(ii) *-pt-*: A (T, etc.), Khar. D *goti*, A (Ksb.) *guti* <*gupti-*; Khar. D *aprati* <*aprāpte*; P, Pkt. *khitta-* <*kṣipta-*; etc.

(iii) *-tv-*: A (K) *catāli* <*catvāri*; Amg. *carittā* <*caritvā*; etc.

(iv) *-tr-*: A (T etc.), P *gotta-* <*gotra-*; *putta-* <*putra-*; etc.

(v) *-st-*: Sohgaura Inscr. *savatiyāna* <*śrāvastyānām*; P, Pkt. *duttara-* <*dustara-*; P *saṃtatta-* < + *trasta-*; etc.

(vi) *-sth-* (or pre-IA *-st-*): P *majjhatta-* <*madhyastha-*, *indapatta-* (also *-pattha-*) <*indraprastha-*. Dialectal treatment.

(vii) *-rt-*: A (G) *anuvatare*, (S, D, K) *anuvata*(*ṃ*)*tu*; P *vattati* <*vartate*; etc.

(viii) *-ddh-*: A (M) *bhavaśuti* < + *śuddhi-*; N *vṛtag'a* <*vṛddhaka-*. Analogical or dialectal treatment.

(ix) *-kt-*: A (G, D) *vuta-*, P (*v*)*utta-* <*ukta-*; Khar. D *sita-*, P *sitta-* <*sikta-*; *bhatta-* <*bhakta-*; etc.

(x) *-tm-*; *attā* <*atmā*,

(36) th

(i) th: A, P yathā 'as', atha 'then'; Khar. D yujatha <*yujyatha; etc.

(ii) st: A. T. s, ru) -thaṃbha- <stambha-, (ng) thube <stūpa-; P thaneti <stanayati; Pkt. thana- <stana-; etc.

(iii) sth: A (G) thaïra-, P thera- <sthavira-; N, Ś thida- <sthita-; P thāna- <sthāna-; thūla- <sthūla-; etc.

(iv) t: P thusa- <tuṣa-. Analogical.

(v) ts-: P, Pkt. tharu- <tsaru-.

(vi) dh: N tharidavo <*dharitavya-; P pithīyati <apidhīyate, B S pithitum (Lalitavistara) <apidhā-.

(vii) -d-: N vivatha <vivāda-. Dialectal treatment.

(37) -tth-

(i) -sth-: A (S, T etc.) cirathitika- <sthitika-; etc.

(ii) -st- (through- *sθ-): A (K, D, J) nathi <nāsti; A (K, D) hathi-, P, Pkt. hatthi- <hastin-; A (T) pavithalisaṃti <*pravistariṣyanti; Kharavela pasatha- <praśasta-; etc.

(iii) -rth-: A (G, K, D, J) atha-, P, Pkt. attha- <artha-, P, Pkt. sattha- <sārtha-; etc.

(iv) -tr- (through *ϑr-): P, Pkt. tattha <tatra; P sotthiya- (also sottiya-) <śrotriya-; etc. Cf. itthī <strī-.

(v) -kth-: P satthi- <sakthi-.

(vi) -thn-: P abhimatthati < + mathnāti (or *mathyati).

(vii) -dd- (by contamination or analogy): N uthiśa <uddiśya.

(38) d

(i) d: A, P dāna-, Pkt. dāna- 'gift'; A, P vidahāmi <vidadhāmi; P dija- <dvija-; etc.

(ii) -t- (intervocalic): Aśvaghoṣa surada- <surata-; N tharidavo <*dharitavya-, ghrida- <ghṛta-; P udāhu <utāho, niyyādeti <niryātayati; Ś,

Mg. *bhodi, hodi* <*bhavati;* Mah. *udu-* <*ṛtu-;* Khar. D *rada* <*rata;* etc.

(iii) *t-*: N *dena* <*tena* (cf. Ś *na de* <*na te*), *danu* <*tanu-, diṃpura* <*tāmbūla;* Khar. D *yo du* <*yaḥ tu;* etc. Dialectal treatment.

(iv) *-t-* (after *n*): N *gandavo* <*gantavya-, agamduva* <*āgantuka-,* cf. *paṃda* <*pantha-;* P *handa* <*hanta-;* Khar. D *hadi* <*hanti, śada* <*śānta-, dadu* <*dāntaḥ;* Ś *saundalā-* <*śakuntalā-;* etc. Dialectal treatment.

(v) *-dh-*: A (except G) (*h*)*ida-* <**idha=iha;* N *sada* <*sadha = saha, goduma* <*godhūma-;* P *khudā* <*kṣudhā; bunda-* <*budhna-;* Mah. *dihi* <*dhṛti-*. Dialectal treatment or metathesis of aspiration.

(vi) *j* (*y, v*)-: P *digañña-* <*jaghanya-;* P *digucchā,* Amg. *digiṃchā* <*jugupsā;* P *daddalati* <*jājvalyate;* P *dosina-,* Amg. *dosiṇa-* <*jyotsnā;* etc.

(vii) glidic: Kharavela *pandarasa* <*pañcadaśa.*

(viii) *ḍ*: P *diṇḍima* <*ḍiṇḍima-*. Disimilative treatment.

(ix) *l* (or IIr. *d*): A (S, M, K, D, J) *desaṃ=leśam,* (S, M) *dipi-=lipi.*

(x) *-t-* (before *ṛ*): Khar. D *muya-madi'a* <*mṛga-mātṛka-, radi* <**rātṛ-* <*rātri-* (cf. P *dhāti* Ap. *dhāi* <*dhātṛ- = dhātrī*).

(39) *-dd-*.

(i) *-dm-*: P, Pkt. *chadda-* <*chadma-*.

(ii) *-dr-*: A (mk) *bhadake* <*bhadrakaḥ;* A *khuda-, chuda-,* P, Pkt. *khudda-* <*kṣudra-;* P, Pkt. *udda-* <*udra-;* P *addasā* <**adraśāt=adrākṣīt.*

(iii) *-dv-*: A (ru, s, b, br, sd, mk) *jaṃbudīpasi* <*jambudvīpa-;* P, Pkt. *adda*(*y*)*a-* <*advaya-;* etc.

(iv) *-rdr-*: Pkt. *adda-* <*ārdra-*.

(v) *-rd-*: A (G, K, T) *mādava-,* P, Pkt. *maddava-* <*mārdava-*.

(vi) *-dhr-*: P *lodda-* <*lodhra-*.

(40) δ (written *d'*, *t'* in the later Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions).

(i) *-t-* (intervocalic): Khar. Inscr. *pratiṭhavid'a* <*pratiṣṭhāpita-*, *likhit'e* <*likhita-*; etc.

(41) *dh*.

(i) *dh*: *dhamma-* <*dharma-*; A. P *adhi-* <*adhi-*; etc.

(ii) *-dh-* (pre-IA): A (G), Khar, D, P, Pkt. *idha* <**idha*=*iha*; Khar. D *gradhati* 'comprehends' <**gṛdh-*, (or *grath-*); N *sadha* <**sadha*=*saha* or <*sārdham*; P *dhītā*, Pkt. *dhū(d)ā* <**dhiz'htā*, **dhuz'htā*=*duhitā*; etc.

(iii) *dhr-*: *dhuvaṃ* <*dhruvam*.

(iv) *dhv-*: P, Pkt. *dhani* <*dhvani-*.

(v) *-th-* (intervocalic): Kharavela *radha-* <*ratha-*, *-padha-* <*patha-*, *padhama-* <*prathama-*; Khar. D *radha-*, *yadha* <*yathā*, *tadha* <*tathā*, *bhodha* <*bhavatha*; P *pavedhati* <*pravyathate*; Ś, Mg. *kadhedi*; etc.

(vi) *-th-* (after *n*): BS *gandha-* <*grantha-*.

(vii) *ḍ*: N *dhana* <*dāna-*, *dhivasa* <*divasa-*; Khar. D *kusidhu* <*kusīda-*. Dialectal treatment.

(viii) IIr. -**št-* (through -**z'hd-*): N *ṣodhama* <**sašt(h)ama*=*saṣṭha-* (probably influenced by *ṣoḍaśa*).

(ix) *-t-*: Khar. D. *sag'adha* (C^{ro} 4) <*saṃkhyāta-*, *viśeṣadha* (A^{3} 13) <*viśeṣataḥ* (or **viśeṣathā*).

(42) *-ddh-*.

(i) *-ddh-*: A (G, K) *vadhi* <*vṛddhi-*; P. Pkt. *suddha-* <*śuddha-*; etc.

(ii) *-(r)dhr-*: A (T etc.) *vadhi-kukuṭe* <*vadhri*+; N *vadhi* <*vardhrī*.

(iii) *-rdh(v)*: A (G) *vadhayisaï* <*vardhayiṣyanti*; P, Pkt. *addha-* <*ardha-*, *uddha-* (also *ubbha-*) *ūrdhva-*; etc.

(43) *n*

(i) *n*, *-ṇ-*: A *gaṇanā* 'counting'; A (T) *kapana-* <*kṛpaṇa-*; etc.

(ii) *jñ*: A (K, D, J, T etc.) *ñati (ka)-* <*jñāti (ka)-*; A (K, D, J) *ānapayāmi* <*ājñāpayāmi*; A (kq) *vinati-* <*vijñāpti-*; N *anati* <*ājñapti-*; Apa. *najjaï* <*jñāyate*; etc.

(iii) *sn-*: P, Pkt. *neha-* <*sneha-*; etc.

(iv) *l* (by dissimilation): P *naṅgala-* <*lāṅgala-* *nalāṭa-* <*lalāṭa-*.

(44) *-nn-*

(i) *-dn-, -nn-*: A (T, etc.) *di(mṃ)na-*, P, Amg. *dinna-*, Pkt. *diṇṇa-* <**didna-* = *datta-*; Khar. D *sanadhu* <*sannaddhaḥ*; etc.

(ii) *-ñc-*: A (T, etc.) *paṃnadasa*; *paṃnavīsati* <*pañca*+; A (s) *sapaṃnā[sa]* <*ṣaṭpañcāśat*.

(iii) *-nd-*: Khar. D *kana* <*kranda*, *chanu* <*chandas-*, *manabhaṇi* <*mandabhāṇin-*, *vinadi* <*vindati*; N *chiṃnati* <*chindati*; etc. Dialectal treatment.

(iv) *-ṇy-*: A (K) *puṃnaṃ* <*puṇyam*.

(v) *-ndh-*: N *baṃnanae* <*bandhanāya*. Dialectal treatment.

(vi) *-ny-*: A (K, D, J) *manati* <*manyate*; etc.

(vii) *-nv-*: P *samanneseti* <*samanveṣayati*; etc.

(viii) *-jñ-*: Amg. *apaḍinna-* <*apratijña-*; etc.

(ix) *-pn-* (*-pṇ-*): Khar. D *pranodi* <*prāpṇoti*. Dialectal treatment.

(x) *-mn-*: P *ninna-* <*nimna-*.

(xi) *-rṇ-*: A (T, etc.) *paṃnasase* <*parṇaśaśaḥ*; P, Pkt. *paṇṇa-* <*parṇa-*.

(45) *p*

(i) *p*: *para-* 'next'; P, Pkt. *pi* <*api*; etc.

(ii) *pr-*: *p(r)āṇa-* <*prāṇa-*, *p(r)i(y)a-* <*priya-*; etc.

(iii) *-ph-*: P *kapoṇi-* <*kaphoṇi-*.

(iv) *b(h), v*: A (S) *paḍhaṃ* <*bāḍham*, (Rdh) *patipogaṃ* <+*bhoga-*, ru *pipule* (also *vipule*) <*vipula-*; N *palp'i* <*bali-*, *pog'a* <*bhoga-*; P *alāpu-* <*alābū-*, *chāpa (ka)-* <*śāva (ka)-*, *hupejja*=*bhavet*; *tiṃpura* <*tāmbūla*. Dialectal treatment.

(v) *m* and *v* (after *ś, s, t*): A (G) *atpa* <*ātman-*, A (S, M) *-spi* (loc. sg. ending) <*-smin, spagraṃ* <*svargam;* Khar. D *viśpa-* <*viśva-;* N *aśpa* <*aśva-;* etc.

(46) *-pp-*

(i) *-pṇ-* (*-pn-*): A (T, etc.) *pāpovā* <*prāpṇuyāt,* (ru sd, br) *pāpotave* <**prāpṇotavai=prāptum;* P *pappoti* <*prāpṇoti, soppa-* <*svapna-*.
(ii) *-pr-*: P *suppiya-* <*supriya-;* etc.
(iii) *-py-*: Pkt. *sippa-* <*sipya.*
(iv) *-rp-*: P, Pkt. *sappa-* <*sarpa-;* etc.
(v) *-lp-*: *appa-* <*alpa-;* A (G) *saṃvaṭa-kapā* <*+kalpāt;* etc.
(vi) *-ṣp-*: A (T, etc.) *dupaṭivekhe* <*duṣpratyavekṣyaḥ, -catupadesu* <*catuṣpada-;* P *bappa-* <*bāṣpa-, nippesita-* <*niṣpeṣita.* Dialectal treatment.
(vii) *-ṭp-*: A (s) *sapaṃnā[sa]* <*saṭpañcāśat.*
(viii) *-vr-*: P *tippa-* <*tīvra-* (probably influenced by *khippa-* <*kṣipra-*).
(ix) *-m-* and *-v-* (after *t;* through MIA *-tp-*): P, Pkt. *appa-* (<*atpa-*) <*ātman-*, Khar. Inscr. *-capariśa,* N *capariśa* (cf. A (G) *catpāro*) <*catvāriṃśat;* etc.

(47) *p′* (=f)

(i) *-p-* (after *s*): N *sp′asa* <*spaśa-, parosp′ara* <*paraspara-*.
(ii) *-v-* (after *s*): N *sp′arna* <*svarṇa-, sp′eṭha* <*svastha-*.

(48) *ph*

(i) *ph*: *phala-* 'fruit'; etc.
(ii) *pr-* (through **fr-*): A (bb) *phāsu-vihālataṃ,* P *phāsu-* <*prāṃśu-*.
(iii) *sp(h)-*: Khar. D *phuṣamu* <*spṛśāmaḥ;* P *phassa-*, Pkt. *phaṃsa-* <*sparśa-;* Pkt. *phusaï* <*spṛśáti;* Pkt. *phaḷiha-* <*sphaṭika-*.

(iv) *p-*: P, Pkt. *pharusa-* <*paruṣa-*; P *pharu-* <*paruṣ-*, *phala-* <*pala-*, *phalitaṃ* <*palitam*; Pkt. *phaṇasa-* <*panasa-*, *phāḍei* <*pāṭayati*; etc.

(v) *-sm-* (through *-sv-* > *-sp-*): Paiśācī (Kramadīśvara) *ampha* <*asma-*. See (49) (ii) below.

(49) *-pph-*

(i) *-ṣp(h)-*: A (D) *niphatiyā* <*niṣpatyā*; P, Pkt. *puppha-* <*puṣpa-*; etc.

(ii) *-sm-* (*ṣm-*) (through *-sv-* >*-sp-*): A (D, J) *aphe* <*asme*, (D, J, sn) *tuphe* (ru *tupe*) <**tuṣme* =*yuṣme*; A (T, etc.) *kaphaṭa* <**kasmaṭha-* =*kamaṭha-*.

(iii) *-pp-* (by analogy or contamination): P *pipphala-* <*pippala-*.

(50) *b* (also written *v*)

(i) *b*: *bahu* 'many'; etc.

(ii) *br-*: *bamhaṇa-* <*brāhmaṇa-*; etc.

(iii) *bh*: N *buma* <*bhūmi-*, *kuṃba-* <*kumbha-*; Ceylon Inscr. *bata-* <*bhakta-*. Dialectal treatment.

(iv) *bh* (by transference of aspiration): Pkt. *bahinī* <*bhaginī*; Apa. *būha-* <MIA *bhūa-* <*bhūta-*.

(v) *-p-*: A (ng.) *thube* <*stūpaḥ*; Khar. D *-ruva* <*rūpa-*, *divu* <*dīpaḥ*, *vaśada* <*upaśāntaḥ*; Pkt. *avara-* <*apara*; etc.

(vi) *-mp-*: Khar. D *sabaṇo* <*sampannaḥ*, *sabaśu* <*sampaśyan*, *sabrayaṇaṇa* <*samprajānānām*; *eka-paṇaṇu'abisa* < +**anukaṃpiṣya*. Dialectal treatment.

(vii) glidic: A *taṃbapaṃni* <*tāmraparṇī*; P, Pkt. *amba-* <*āmra-*; etc.

(viii) *dv-* >*db-*: A (G) *dbādasa*, (S) *badaya*, N *badaśa*, P *bārasa*, Pkt. *bāraha* <*dvādaśa*. Apa. *beṇṇi* <**dvīni*; Amg. *be* <*dve*.

(51) *bb* (also written *vv*)

(i) *-lb-*: P *kibbisa-* <*kilbiṣa-*.
(ii) *-bhr-*: P *babbu-* <*babhru-*. Dialectal treatment.
(iii) *-rv-*: *sabba-* <*sarva-*; etc.
(iv) *-vr-*: A (G, K) *tiva-*, P *tibba-* <*tīvra-*; etc.
(v) *-dv-*: P *ubbaṭṭati*, Pkt. *ubbaṭṭe*(d)*i* <*udvartayati*; P *ubbigga-* <*udvigna-*.
(vi) *-ḍv-*: P, Pkt. *chabbisa*(*ti*) <*ṣaḍviṃśa*(*ti*); P *chabbaṇṇa-* <*ṣaḍvarṇa-*.
(vii) *-db-*: P *bubbulaka-* <**budbulaka-*.

(52) *bh* (written, non-initially, also *vh* in Khar. D)

(i) *bh*: A, P *bhātā*, Pkt. *bhā*(d)*ā* <*bhrātā*; etc.
(ii) *-b-*, *-v-*: N *bhija* <*bīja-*; P *bhisa-* <*bisa-*, *bhasta-* <*basta-*; Amg. *bīhaṇa-* <*bhīsaṇa-*; Khar. D *makavha* <**magabhā*(*n*) <*maghavā*(*n*).
(iii) *-mh-*: A (K) *baṃbhana-*, (D, J, T) *bābhana-* <*brāhmaṇa-*.
(iv) *-ph-*: Pkt. *sebhāliā* <*śephālikā*, *sibhā* <*śiphā*; etc.
(v) *sm-*: Apa. *bharaï* (Hemacandra) <*smarati*; Pkt. *vimbhaya-*, *vimhita-*, <*vismaya-*, *vismita-*, *sambharaï* <*saṃsmarati*.
(vi) *-ṃh-*: Apa. *sambhālaï* <*saṃhārayati*.
(vii) *-y-* (by contamination): Khar. D *ṣebha*, *ṣevha* <*śreyaḥ* (influenced by *śubha-*).

(53) *-bbh-*

(i) *-bhr-*: P *sobbha-* <*śvabhra-*; *abbha-* <*abhra-*, etc.
(ii) *-bhy-*: P, Pkt. *labbha-* <*labhya-*; etc.
(iii) *-hv-*: Pkt. *vibbhala-* <*vihvala-*; Amg. *jibbhā* <*jihvā*; etc.
(iv) *-rdhv-*: P, Pkt. *ubbha-* (also *uddha-*) <*ūrdhva-*.
(v) *-dbh-*: *ubbhāra-* <*udbhāra-*.

(54) *m*.

(i) *m*: A, P *mātā*, Pkt. *mā*(d)*ā* 'mother'; etc.
(ii) *mr-*, *ml-*: Pkt. *makkhaṇa-* <*mrakṣaṇa-*; *meccha-* <*mleccha-*.

(iii) -*v*- (intervocalic): Khar. D *nama* <*nāvam*, *bhamana'i* <*bhāvanāyām*, *sabhamu* (O 18) <*sambhava*-, *emam eva* <*evam eva*; N *ema* <*eva*(*m*), *games*- <*gaveṣay*-; etc.

(iv) -*m*- (after *s*, *ś*): N *maṣu*, P *massu*, Amg. *maṃsu* <*śmaśru*; P, Pkt. *masāna*- <*śmaśāna*-.

(v) *p*: N *sumiṃna* <**supina*- <*svapna*-; Amg. *cimiḍha*- <*cipīṭa*-; Khar. D *pramuṇi* (A[1] 3) <**prāpuṇet* = *prāpṇuyāt*.

(vi) glidic: A (D, J) *suhaṃ- m- eva*, (D) *hedisaṃ- m- eva*, (K) *aṃña- m- anaṣā*; Amg. *goṇa- m- āī* <**goṇa- ādi*-; etc.

(vii) *br*-: Amg. *māhaṇa*- <*brāhmaṇa*-.

(55) -*mm*-.

(i) -*mb*(*h*)-, -*mp*-: Khar. D *udumareṣu*, <*udumbareṣu*, *gamirapraña* <*gambhīra-prajñaṃ*; *samajadi* <*sampadyate*; Apa. *amma* <*ambā*; etc.

(ii) -*hm*-: A (S, M), Khar. D *bramana*- <*brāhmaṇa*-; Khar. D *bramayiyava* <*brahmacaryavān*; Riṭigala Inscr. (Ceylon) *bamaṇa*- <*brāhmaṇa*-.

(iii) -*my*-: A (S) *saṃma*- P *samma*- <*samyak*; P, Pkt. *ramma*- <*ramya*-; etc.

(iv) -*lm*-: P *kammāsa*- <*kalmāṣa*-; Pkt. *gumma*- <*gulma*-.

(v) -*nm*-: P *ummūleti*, Pkt. *ummūle*(*d*)*i* <*unmūlayati*; etc.

(vi) -*km*-: A (ru) *luṃmini- gāme* <*rukmiṇīgrāme* (?).

(vii) -*rm*-: A (except S, M) *dhaṃma*-, P. Pkt. *dhamma*- <*dharma*-; etc.

(viii) -*ṅm*-; Pkt. *dimmuha*- <*diṅmukha*-.

(ix) -*ṇm*-: Pkt. *chammuha*- <*ṣaṇmukha*-.

(x) -*pn*-: Khar. D *amodi* (A[1] 6) <*āpnoti*.

(xi) -*sm*-: N *amahu* <*asmabhyam*; N -*ṃmi*, Mah. -*mmi* <-*smin* (loc. sg. ending).

(56) *mh*.

(i) *-sm-*: A (G), P, Pkt. *-mhi* <*-smin;* P, Pkt. *amha-* <*asma-*.
(ii) *-ṣm-*: Pkt. *gimha-* <*grīṣma-*; etc.
(iii) *-śm-*: Pkt. *kamhīra-* <*Kāśmīra-*.
(iv) *-hm-*: *bamhana-* <*brāhmaṇa-*, *bamhā* <*brahmā*.

(57) *ṃ* (medially a nasal of the class of the following consonant).

(i) *-m*: *taṃ* <*tam;* etc.
(ii) *-n*: A (G) *karuṃ*, Amg. *kuvvaṃ* <*kurvan;* P *passaṃ* <*paśyan*.
(iii) *-r-* (before *ś, ṣ, s*): A (G) *susuṃsā* <**susursā* <*śuśrūṣā;* Pkt. *daṃsana-* <*darśana-;* etc.

(58) *y* (often = *-j;* medially, dialectally *z, z'*).

(i) *y-*: *yaṃti* <*yānti; yo* <*yaḥ;* etc.
(ii) *-y(a)-*: A, P *khādiyati*, Pkt. *khā(d)ia(d)i* <*khādyate;* etc.
(iii) IIr. **y-*: Khar. D *yaṭha* (Cro 22) <**yaṣṭa-* (cf. Av. *yašta-*)=*iṣṭa-;* Nanaghat inscr. *yiṭha* <**yishta-*=*iṣṭa-*. (It may be from contamination between **yaṣṭa* and *iṣṭa-*).
(iv) Prothetic: A (D, J, M, K, T etc.) *yeva*, P, Pkt. *yeva* <*eva;* N *yima* <*ime*, *yiyo* <*iyam*.
(v) *-ś-* (intervocalic): A (S) *badaya* (=**badaz'a*) <*dvādaśa*.
(vi) *-c-* and *-j-* (intervocalic): Khar. D *goyari* <*gocare, śoyati* <*śocate*, *-yi* (also *ji*) <*cit*, *suyi-* <*śuci-*, *vaya-* <*vacas-*, *v(r)ayati* <*vrajati, puyita-* <*pūjita-*, *parayitu* <*parājitaḥ;* N, P, Pkt. *niya-* <*nija-*, Khar. D *raya-*, *maharaya*, Pkt. *rā(y)ā* <*rāja-;* Khar. D *ayara-*, Amg. *āyāra-* <*ācāra-;* etc.[8]

8. Khar. D *y* < *c, j* is a voiced spirant sound (*z'* or *z*); the medial semi-vowel *y* is often indicated by *alif*.

(vii) Residual for an intervocalic consonant (sometimes not indicated); Khar. D[9] *anusu'a* <*anutsukaḥ*, *ujuo* <*ṛjukaḥ*, *ekapananu'abisa* <*ekaprāṇānukampiṣya*, *pajaṣagadhi'o* <*pañcasaṅgādhikaḥ*, *muyamati'a* <*mṛgamātṛkaḥ* (?), *śo'ino* <*śokinaḥ*; N *viraya* <*virag'a* <*vīraka-*, *saṃvatsarae* <*saṃvatsaraka-*; P *khāyita-* <*khādita-*, *sāyati* <*svādate*; Amg. *gaya-* <*gata-*; etc.

(viii) *-v-*: N *baladeyu-* <*baladeva-*; P *dāya-* <*dāva*; etc.

(59) *-yy-* (often = *jj*).

(i) *-dy-*: A *uyāna-*, P *uyyāna-* =*udyāna-*; A (K) *uyāma-* <*udyāma-*; P *uyyutta-*<*udyukta-*; etc.

(ii) *-ry-*: A (G) *niyātu* <*niryātu*; P *niyyāti*; A (br, sd) *ayaputa-* P. Mg. *ayyaputta-* <*āryaputra-*; Khar. D. *kuya* <*kuryāt*; etc.

(iii) *-ly-*: A, M, K, D, (T etc.) *kayāna-* <*kalyāṇa-*, (T etc.) *sayake*, *seyake*, <*śalyaka-*.

(iv) *-yá-*: Khar. D *miyadi*, P *miyyati* <*mriyáte*; Mg. *ḍhayyadi* <**dayyhati*, <*dahyáte*; etc.

(v) *-hy-*: Khar. D *aruyu* <**āruhyan*. Dialectal treatment.

(60) *yh-* (often = *jjh*).

-hy-: P *mayhaṃ*, *tuyham*, Pkt. *majjhaṃ*, *tujjhaṃ*, <*mahyam*, **tuhyam*.

(61) *r*.

(i) *r*: *rājā* 'king'; etc.

(ii) *l*: P *kira* <*kila*.

(iii) *-dṛ-*: A (G) (e) *tārisa-*, *yārisa* <(e) *tādṛśa-*, *yādṛśa-*; Ś *edārisa-* <*etādṛśa-*.

(iv) *-d-* (intervocalic, through *-ḍ-*): Kharavela *terasa*, *pandarasa*, Amg. *terasa*, *paṇṇarasa*, Pkt.

9. Generally indicated by *alif* in Khar. D.

teraha <*trayodaśa, pañcadaśa;* P *ekārasa,* Amg. *ekkārasa,* Mah *eāraha* <*ekādaśa;* etc.

(v) Analogical: P, Pkt. *sattari* <*saptati;* Khar. D *druśilia* (=*dur-*) <*dauḥśīlya-*.

(vi) *-ry-, rv-, hr-*: Khar. D *dhorekaśīla-*, <*dhairyaikaśīla-, kurati* <*kurvati, rasa* (P *rassa-*) <*hrasva-*.

(vii) *ṛ*: A (S) *mruga-*, (m) *mriga-* <*mṛga-;* Khar. D *rakṣa* <*vṛkṣa-, savruto* <*saṃvṛtaḥ, driḍha* <*dṛḍham, vridha-* <*vṛddha-;* P *pāruta-* <*prāvṛta-;* etc.

(viii) Glidic: P *dhi-r-atthu* <*dhik astu.*

(62) *l.*

(i) *l*: *lahu-* <*laghu-;* etc.

(ii) *r*: A (K) *catāli* <*catvāri,* A (K, D, J, T etc.), Mg. *lājā* <*rājā;* P, Mg. *taluṇa-* <*taruṇa-;* etc.

(iii) *-n-* (by dissimilation): P *pilandhati* <**apinandhati, milinda-* 'Minander'.

(iv) *-ḍ-* (intervocalic): Pkt. *khela-* <*krīḍa-*.

(v) *-d-*: Apa. *palittaṃ* <*pradīptam.*

(63) *-ll-*

(i) *-ll-*: *malla-;* Pkt. *malliā* <*mallikā;* etc.

(ii) *-ly-*: A (S, M, G) *kalāṇa-* <*kalyāṇa-;* P, Pkt. *kalla-* <*kalya-; salla* <*śalya-;* etc.

(iii) *-lv-*: P, Pkt. *billa-* (*bella-*) <*bilva-;* Pkt. *gallakka* <*galvarka;* Pkt. *olla-* <*olva-;* etc.

(iv) *-ml-*: P *sallapeti* <*saṃlapayati.*

(v) *-rl-*: P, Pkt. *dulla* (*b*) *ha-* <*durlabha-;* etc.

(vi) *-ry-* through -**ly-*): P, Pkt. *pallattha-* <*paryasta-, pallaṅka-* <*paryaṅka-;* etc.

(vii) *-dr-* through -**dl-*): P *culla-* <*kṣudra-;* Ap. *bhalla-* <*bhadra-*.

(64) *ly* (printed) *lp'*, palatalised *l* before *i*): N *palp'i* <*bali-, lp'ihida* <*likhitā-, vyalp'i* <*vyālī.* Dialectal treatment.

(65) *v* (often=*b*).

(i) *v*: A *vāsa-*, Khar. D *vaṣa-*, P, Pkt. *vassa-* <*varṣa-*; etc.

(ii) *vy-*: A (S) *vañanto* <*vyañjanataḥ*, *vasana* <*vyasanam*; A (S) *vapaṭa*, (m) *vapuṭa*, *vaputa* <*vyāpṛtaḥ*; P *vāḷa-* <*vyāla-*; etc.

(iii) *vr-*; P *vata-* <*vrata-*.

(iv) Prothetic: A (S), N *vuta-* <*upta-*; A (S, M) *vucati* (G) *vucate*, Khar. D, N *vucati*, P *vaccati* < *ucyate*; A (G, D), N *vuta-*, P *vutta-* <*ukta-*; N *vulasi* <*ullāsaḥ*; etc.

(v) *-b(h)*: Khar. D *avalaśa* <*abalāśvaḥ*, *abhivuyu* <+*bhūya*; Mathura Stone Inscr. *gaṃjavareṇa* <**gañjabhareṇa*; N *aśpavara* <**aśvabhāra-*, *parivanae* < *paribhāṇḍaka-*; Pkt. *savara-* <*śabara-*; etc.

(vi) *-p-* (intervocalic): A (s) *pāvātave* <**prāpātavai*; Khar. D, Pkt. *rūva-* <*rūpa-*; Khar. D *pavani* <*pāpāni*; N *vaṃti* <*upānte*; N *avi*, Pkt. (*a*)*vi* <*api*; N *darśaveti* <**darśāpayati*; P, Pkt. *avaṅga-* <*apāṅga-*; etc.

(vii) Residual for an intervocalic consonant: A (T, etc.) *cāvudasaṃ*, *cāvudasāye* <**cāturdaśa-*; Kharavela *cavutthe* <*cathurthe*; P *suva-* <*śuka*; etc.

(viii) *-y-*: A (T, etc.) *anugahinevu* <*anugṛhṇīyuḥ*, *asvasevu* <*āśvaseyuḥ*, (Rdh. etc.) *upadahevu* <+**dadheyuḥ*=*dadhyuḥ*; P *āvudha-* <*āyudha-*, *kāsāva-* <*kāṣāya-*; etc.

(ix) *p-*: Khar. D *vatita* (Cro 31) <*patita-*; N *valag'a* <*pālaka-*. Probably by contamination with *ava*.

(66) *-vv-* (=*-bb-* q.v.).

(i) *-vr-*: A (G) *tīva-* (K) *tiva-* <*tīvra*; etc.

(ii) *-rv-*: A *sava-*, Khar. D *sava-* (also *sarva-*), Pkt. *savva-* <*sarva-*; etc.

(iii) *-vy-*: A (S, M) *divani* <*divyāni*, (S) *kaṭava-* <*kartavya-*; Pkt. *kavva-* <*kāvya-*; etc.

(67) *v′* (=*w*)

(i) -*v*- (postconsonantal): N *tanuv′ag′a* (cf. Taxila Silver Scroll Inscr. *taṇuvae*) <*tanvaka-, *hetuv′aena* <*hetvaka-.

(ii) Residual for an intervocalic consonant: N *agaṃduv′a* <*āgantuka-*.

(68) *ś*[10]

(i) *ś*: A (S, M, K), Khar. D *śata-* 'hundred', (S) *śako* <*śakyaḥ*; N *śighavera* <*śṛṅgavera-*; Mg. *keśa-* 'hair'; etc.

(ii) *ṣ*: A (K) *pāśaṃḍa-* <*pāṣaṇḍa-*; Mg. *keśeśu* <*keśeṣu*; etc.

(iii) *s*: A (K) *śālavaḍhi* <*sāra+*; A (K), Mg. *śe* <*saḥ*; Khar. D *budhaśaśane* < +*śāsane*; etc.

(iv) -*th*-, -*dh*- (intervocalic): Khar. D *gaśana* (C[ro] 7) <*gāthānām*, *vanaśe′a* (B 50) <*vanathya-(?); Khar. D, N *śiśila* <*śithila-*; Khar. Inscr., N *iśa* <*idha*=*iha*.

(v) c: N *praśura* <*pracura-*, *vaśidemi* <*vācito'smi*; Wardak Vase Inscr. -*cra* (= -*śa*) <*ca*.

(69) *śś*[11]

(i) -*śr*-: A (M) *dhrama-niśite* <+*niśritaḥ*.

(ii) -*sr*-: A (K) *pāṇa-ṣata-ṣahaśe* <+*sahasra-*.

(iii) -*śn*-: A (M) *aśatasa*, (G) *aśamanasa* <*aśnataḥ, *aśnamānasya.

(iv) -*śy*-, -*ṣy*-, -*sy*-: A (S, M) *likhapiśami*, (K) *lekhāpeśāmi* <-*ṣyāmi*; A (K) *taśā* <*tasya*; Khar. D *paśati* <*paśyati*; N *udiśa* <*uddiśya*, *kariśati* <*kariṣyati*; etc.

(v) -*śv*-: *Khar*. D *avalaśa*, *bhadrāśu* <+*aśva-*.

(70) *ṣ* (often = *ś*)

(i) *ṣ*: Khar. D *doṣa* <*doṣam*; etc.

10. Sometimes it is a graphic variant of *s*.
11. Sometimes it is a graphic variant of *ss*.

(ii) *ś*: A (K) *ṣuṣuṣā* <*śuśrūṣā*, *ṣuneyu* <**śruṇeyuḥ*; Khar. D *ṣeho* <*śreyaḥ*, *ṣadhu* <**śraddhaḥ*; N *ṣayati* <*śrayati*.

(iii) *s*: A (K) *ṣava-* <*sarva-*; A (K) *ṣe*, (S, M) *ṣa* <*saḥ*; A (K) *vaṣati* <*vasati*; Khar. D *ṣakaru* <*saṃkurvan*; etc.

(iv) Ir. *š*: N *ṣada* <*Ir.* **šāda-*.

(71) -*ṣṣ*- (often -*śś*-)

(i) -*ṭṣ*-: A (S, M, K) *ṣaṣu* <*ṣaṭṣu*.
(ii) -*tś*-: A (K) *uṣaṭena* <**utśritena*.
(iii) -*ts*-: Khar. D *bahoṣukena* < *bahūtsukena*.
(iv) -*rṣ*-: A (S, M, K), Khar. D *vaṣa-* <*varṣa-*.
(v) -*ṣp*-: Khar. D *puṣa-* (Cro 1) <*puṣpa-*.
(vi) -*sy*-: A (K) *taṣā* (also *taśā*, *tasā*) <*tasya*.

(72) *s*

(i) *s*: *savva-*, *sabba-* <*sarva-*; etc.

(ii) *ś*: A (D, J) *palikilesa-* <*parikleśa-*, (T, etc.) *suka-* <*śukaḥ*.

(iii) *ṣ*: A (s) *sapaṃnā*[*sa*] <*ṣaṭpañcāśat*.

(iv) *śr-*, *śl-*, *śv-*: A (K, D, J) *samana-* (G) *samaṇa-* <*śramaṇa*; A (K) *seṭha-*, (G) *sesṭa-*; P. *semha-* <*śleṣman-*; A (S, M) *spasuma* (*ṃ*) <*svasṛ-*; A (T etc.) P *seta-* <*śveta-*; Mathura Lion Cap. Inscr. *viśpasria* <*viśva-śriyāḥ*; etc.

(v) *sy-*, *sn-*: P, Pkt. *sandana-* <*syandana-*; Nagar. *suṃnhānaṃ* <*snūṣā-*.

(vi) IIr. -*š*-: A (S) *astavaṣa-* <**ašta*+ =*aṣṭa*; A (G) *sesṭa-* <**ṣraišta-*, *tisṭaṃto* <**stiṣṭantas*; etc.

(vii) -*dh*-. (= *δh*); A (S) *sasumate* <*sādhu*+; Khar D *masuru* (B 11) <*madhuram*; N *masu* <*madhu*. Cf. Khar. D *śiśila*; P -*mase* (pres. mid pl. ending) <IIr. **madhai*=*mahe*.

(viii) -*t*- (or -*th*-): Khar. D *g′asedi* <**gathayati* <*ghātayati*, *sag′asa* (Cro 14) <**saṃkātha-* (cf. *sag′adha* Cro 4) <*saṅkhyāta-*.

(73) -ss-.

(i) *-śy-*, *-ṣy-*: A (sn, sc, kb) *dusa-* <*duṣya-*, (G) *pasati* <*paśyati*, (D, J) *muniṣa-* <*manuṣya-*; A (S, M, G, D, J) *tasa*, (K) *tasā* <*tasya*; P, Pkt. *avassaṃ* <*avaśyaṃ*; etc.

(ii) *-śr-*, *-sr-*: A (K. D) *dhaṃmanisite* <+*niśrita-*; A (M, G) *parisave*, (K, D) *palisave* <*parisrava-*; A (K, D, J) *-sahasāni* <*sahasrāṇi*; P, Pkt. *missa-* <*miśra-*; etc.

(iii) *-rś-*, *-rṣ-*: A (G, K, D, J) *dasana-* <*darśana-*; A (K, D, J) *vasa-*, (G) *vāsa-* <*varṣa-*; etc.

(iv) *-śv-*, *-ṣv-*: P, Pkt. *assa-* <*aśva-*; P *palissajati* <*pariṣvajati*; Pkt. *piussiā* <*pitṛṣvasṛkā*; etc.

(v) *-ts-*, *-tś(r)-*: A (T etc.) *usāha-* <*utsāha-*; Khāravela *ūsava-* <*utsava-*; A (Rp) *usapāpite* <**utśrapāpita-*; A (D, M, S) *cikisa*, (J) *cikiśā*, (K) *cikisakā* <*cikitsā-*; P *ussanna-* <*utsanna-*, etc.

(vi) *-ḥs-*: A (T etc.) *dusaṃpaṭipādaye* <*duḥsam*+.

(vii) *-śm-*, *-sm-*: Pkt. *rassi-* <*raśmi-*; Ś *-ssiṃ* <*-smin*.

(viii) *-sp-*: Kharavela *bahasatimitaṃ* <*Bṛhaspatimitram*.

(74) *z'*, *z* (written *y*, *j*, *j'*, *jh*, *ś*, *s*).

(i) *-ś-*, *-s-* (intervocalic): A (S) *badaya-* <*dvādaśa*; Khar. D *praśaj'adi* <*praśaṃsa(n)ti*; N *avag'aj'a* <*avakāśa-*, *dajha*, *dasa* <*dāsa-*; etc. Dialectal treatment.

(ii) *-c-*, *-j-* (intervocalic): N *yaj'itaga* <*yācitaka-*, *vaj'idesi* <*vācito'si*, *bhij'a* <*bīja-*; Khar. D *vaya'i* <*vācayā* = *vācā*, *vayadi* <*vrajati*; etc.

(iii) *-dh-* (intervocalic): N *asimatra* <*adhimātram*; N *masu* <*madhu*; etc. Dialectal treatment.

(75) *h*.

(i) *h*: *haṃsa-* 'duck', *bahu-* 'much'; etc.

(ii) *bh-*: A, P *hoti*, Pkt. *ho(d)i* <*bhavati*. Only the root *bhū-* is thus affected initially.

(iii) -*gh*- (intervocalic): *lahu*- <*laghu-*; Khar. *oha* <*ogha-*; etc.

(iv) -*dh*- (intervocalic): A (T etc.) *vidahāmi* <*vidadhāmi*, *upadahevu* <**upadadheyuḥ*; P *dahāti* <*dadhāti*; N *gohomi* <*godhūma-*; P, Pkt. *ruhira-* <*rudhira-*; etc.

(v) -*bh*- (intervocalic): A (G) *ahuṃsu*=*abhūvan*; A (J) *laheyu*, (D) *lahevu* <**labheyuḥ*; Khar. D *lahati* <*labhate*; *uhu* <*ubhau*; N *lahaṃti* <*labhante*; N *pahuḍ'a*, Ap. *pāhuḍa-* <*prābhṛta-*; P, Pkt. *pahu-* <*prabhu-*; etc.

(vi) -*kh*- (intervocalic): Khar. D *suha* <*sukha-*; *muheṇa* <*mukhena*; etc.

(vii) -*th*- (intervocalic): N, Pkt. *taha* <*tathā*; Pkt. *kahā* <*kathā*; etc.

(viii) -*ph*- (intervocalic): Pkt. *sehāliā* <*śephālikā*; *sahara-*<*śaphara-*; Ap. *pattahala-* <*patraphala-*; etc.

(ix) -*kṣ*- (intervocalic, through *-γz'- > *-z'h-): D *aveha* <*apekṣā*, *aṇavehiṇo* <*anapekṣiṇaḥ*;[12] Amg. *pehā* <*prekṣā*, *apekṣā*; Ap. *dāhiṇa-* <**daγz'ina-* (cf. Avestan *dašina-*) = *dakṣiṇa-*.

(x) -*k*- (intervocalic, through -**x*-): Khar. D *dharmiho* <*dhārmika-*;[13] N *samaho* (also *samao*) <**samaka-*(?)=*samam*;[13] Ap. *suṇaha-* =*śunaka-*[13]; Pkt. *phaḷiha-* <*sphaṭika-*.

(xi) -*t*- (intervocalic or after a nasal, through -*ϑ-, or analogical): N *mahuli* <*mātulī*; Amg. *vihatthi* *<*vihasta-* + *vitasti-*; Mah., Ap. *bharaha-* <*bharata-*; Ap. *vasahī* <**vasanϑi* <*vasanti*; (cf. Khar. D. *paja* <*pañca*).

(xii) -*g*- (intervocalic, through -*γ-): Khar. D -*bhoha*- (C[ro] 25) <*bhoga-*.

(xiii) -*ś*- (intervocalic): Ceylon inscr. *asanahala* <*aśana-* (or *āsana-*) *śālā*.

12. Khar. D *duha-* (>*duḥkha-*) is influenced by suha (<*sukha-*).

13. The affix may be -*kha*. Cf. oP *a(h)māxam* and Av. *ahmākam*.

(xiv) -*ṣ*(*y*)-, -*s*(*y*)- (intervocalic, through *-*z*(*y*)-, *-*z'h*(*y*)-): A (T etc.), Amg. *dāhaṃti* <*dāsyanti;* Mah. *dāhaṃ* <*dāsyāmi;* A (T) *hohaṃti* <**bhoṣ*(*y*)*anti;* P *hohiti*, Mah. *hohii* <**bhoz'hiati* < *bhoṣyati* = *bhaviṣyati;* Amg. *bīhaṇa-*[14] <*bhīṣaṇa-;* etc.

(xv) -*hv*-: Pkt. *jīhā* <*jihvā.*

(xvi) Prothetic or metathetic: A (except G) *hida* <**idha* = *iha;* A (K, D, J, Su, kq) *heta* <**etra* = *atra;* A (S) *hediśa-*, (K) *hediṣa-*, *heḍiṣa-*, (D, J, su) *hedisa-* <**edṛśa-* = *īdṛśa-;* N *hach'ati* <**acchati-* = *asti; hadehi* (also *adehi*) <**adhebhiḥ*, *heḍ'i* <*eḍa-;* A (S) *hahati* = *ahati.*

(xvii) Glidic: N *sahasrahani* <**sahasraani* = *sahasrāṇi* *prihitosmi* <**priitósmi* = *prītósmi.*

§50. Sporadic instances of simplification of geminated consonants occur even in the earliest records of MIA. These are mostly conjuncts with *ṣ* or *s*. The development is indicated below.

(i) -*kṣ*- (IIr. *--*kš*-) >*-*γz'h*- >-*gh*-: A (T, etc., D) *cagha*(*ṃ*)*ti* <*cakṣ-* (cf. Avestan *cašan-*), A (T etc.), *laghaṃti* (cf. the sense of *pratipālay-*) <*rakṣ-* (cf. Avestan *rašah-*); Khar. D *sag'ara* <*saṃskāra-;* N *bhighu* <*bhikṣu-;* cf. P *anīgha-* = *anīha-*.

(ii) -*kṣ*- (IIr. **šṣ*- >**z'h*- > -*h*-: Khar. D *aveha, anavehiṇo* (see above; but these may be derivatives of the root *īh-* <IIr **īz'h-*); Ap, *dāhiṇa* <*dakṣiṇa-* (cf. Avestan *dašina-*).

(iii) IE. *-*sk*(*h*)*é*- >IIr. **šša*-(>OIA -*cha*-) >*-*z'ha*- (intervocalic) >-*ha*- (Asokan), That A (T) *hohaṃti* <*bhū-*, (T etc.), *dāhaṃti* >*dā-*, (D) *ehatha* <*i-* are neither OIA futures in -*sya*- nor subjunctives in -*sa*- but presents in -*cha*- (IE. -**sk*(*h*)*e*-) is clearly indicated by A (K, D, J, T etc.) *kachaṃti* which can only be explained as coming from

14. Deaspiration of *bh-* is to be noted.

**kr̥cchanti*. The future sense of the *-cha-* present is preserved in N *hach'ati*. N futures in *-ś-* (e.g. *aniśati, dheśati*) are probably *-cha-* presents in origin.

(iv) *-sya-, -ṣya-* >*-*zhia-, -*z'hia-* >*-hi-*: P *hohiti*, Mah. *hohii* <**bhozhiti* <**bhoṣyati* = *bhaviṣyati*.

(v) N *veḍ'a* (353), Ś *veḍhadi* <IIr. **vr̥z'-d(h)a-*; and P *veṭhati* show the devocalised form of the root.

(vi) Pkt. *dīha-* may better be derived from the palatalized root **draz'h-* (as in Avestan *drājišta* = OIA *drāghiṣṭha-*; P *dīgha-* <*dīha* + *diggha-*.

The inscriptional forms *aḍha-* <*aṣṭa* (Kharosthi) and *hadhi* <*hastin-* (Nagarjuni) are obvious errors; cf. *vāsiṭhiputa-* and *vāsiḍhīputa-* occurring in the same inscr.

(vi) An unvoiced consonant following a nasal became voiced (sometimes also aspirated in the North-Western dialect-group) in its second stage. The nasal here was a weak sound and probably indicated nasalisation of the preceding vowel: Khar. D *-ada* <*anta-*, *paja* <*pañca*, *'abisa* <**kampiṣya*, *sagapa* <*saṅkalpa-*; N *upaśaṃghidavo* <*upaśaṅkitavya-*, *gaṃdhavo* <*gantavya-*. There are sporadic instances of vocalisation of *-nt-* in the literary Prakrits; e.g. *handa-* <*hanta*, etc.

(vii) Simplification of *-tr-* >*-t-* (through *-*tr̥-*) appears in Khar. D radi, Pkt. *rāī*<**rātr̥-*; cf. P *dhāti* = *dhātrī*. Amg. *gāya-* presupposes <**gāta-* (and not *gātra-*) just as Bengali *dā* 'chopper' comes from *dāti-* (Patañjali) and not from *dātra-*.

(viii) Other instances of simplification (from Bhavisayattakahā, Jacobi): *gāva* <*garva*, *gāviya* <*garvita*, *sahāsa* <*sahasra*, *tāvelā* <*tadvelā*, *kilīṇa* <*kiliṇṇa* <*klinna*, *bhavīsa* <*bhaviṣya*; *sarasaī* <*sarasvatī*.

§51. Some of the OIA conjuncts have double and triple treatment in MIA. For convenience the more important groups and their changes are put together below.

(1) *kṣ-*: (a) *-kkh-* (through **-xṣ-*) §28 (4) (iii); (b) *-cch-* (through *-śc-* as in Mg.) §28 (13) (iii); (c) *-h-* (through

*-źh-) §28 (74) (viii); (d) *-jh-* (through *-źh-) §28 (16) (ii).

(2) *-kr-*: (a) *-kk-* §28 (2) (iii); (b) *-ṃk-*: Pkt. *vaṃka-* <*vakra-*.

(3) *-tm-*, *-tv-*: (a) *-pp-* §28 (45) (ix); (b) *-tt-* §28 (34) (iii), (x).

(4) *-tr-*: (a) *-tth-* (though *-ϑr-): §28 (63) (iv); (b) *-tt-* §28 (34) (iv).

(5) *-ts(y)-*: (a) *-cch-* §28 (13) (iv); (b) *-śc-*: Mg. *maś-calī* <*matsya* +; (c) *-ss-* §28 (72) (v).

(6) *-(r)dhv-*: (a) *-ddh-* §28 (41) (iii); (b) *-bbh-* (through *-dbh-*) §28 (52) (iv).

(7) *-pt-*: (a) *-tt-* §28 (34) (ii); (b) *-śc-*: Mg. (gram.) *āṇaśca-* <*ajñapta-*.

(8) *-rk-*: (a) *-kkh-* §28 (4) (v); (b) *-kk-* §28 (2) (x).

(9) *-ly-*: (a) *-ll-* §28 (62) (ii); (b) *-yy-* (*-jj-*) §28 (58) (iii).

(10) *-śv-*, *-sv-*: (a) *-ss-* §28 (72) (iv), (vii); (b) *-pph-* (through *-sp-* and *-sf*) §28 (48) (ii).

(11) *-ṣk(r)-*: (a) *-kkh-* (through *-xr-*) §28 (4) (vi), (vii); (b) *-kk-* §28 (2) (xii).

(12) *-ṣp-*: (a) *-pph-* §28 (48) (i); (b) *-ss-* §28 (72) (iv).

(13) *-(ṣ)ṣv-*: (a) *-ss-* §28 (72) (iv); (b) *-cch-* §28 (13) (vii).

(14) *-sm-* (*ṣm-*): (a) *-mh-* >*-mm-* §28 (54) (x), (55) (i), (ii), (iii); (b) *-pph-* §28 (48) (ii); (c) *-ṃs-*: Amg. *aṃsi* <*asmin*.

§52. After assimilation a palatal or cacuminal conjunct sometimes changed its first element into the corresponding nasal (especially in Ap.). Thus: Pkt. *suṇṭha-* <*suṭṭha-* <**śuṣṭa-* = *śuṣka-*; Ap. *aṃthi* <*aṭṭhi* <*asthi*; Ap. *sañca-* <*sacca-* <*satya-*.

CHAPTER IV

DECLENSION OF THE NOUN

1. THE CASE-ENDINGS

§53. The rich variety of the OIA noun declension is very much reduced in MIA. The loss of the final consonants did away almost entirely with the consonantal declension, but long before that, before the change over from the Vedic stage, the tendency of the consonantal stems to turn into vowel stems was quite marked; e.g. *vācā-* <*vāc-*, *niśā-* <*niś-*, *nakta-* <*nakt-*, *āsya-* <*āsan-*, *nāvā-* (RV I. 97.8) <*nau-*, *jaga-* (Kauṣītakī Upaniṣad) <*jagat-*.

The different types of the OIA vowel declension were reduced to five only: *-a*, *-ā*, *-i*, *-ī* and *u*. There is an overall, growing influence of the *a* stem which again was influenced by the pronominal declension. The *i* and *u* stems had a tendency to turn into *a* or *ā* stems. In BS *bāhu-* sometimes appears as *bāhā* probably under the influence of *śākhā*.

The original gender is generally preserved in the transfer stems; e.g. A *parisā-* <*pariṣad-*; A, P *disā-* <*diś-*, *paṭipadā-* <*pratipad-*; Khar. D *tvaya* (B 42), Amg. *tayā-* <*tvac-*; P *vācā-*, Mg. *vāā-* <*vāc-*; P *āpā*, <*ap-*, *āpadā* <*āpad-*; etc.

§54. The three genders continue but the masculine and the neuter come closer together, the NT. SG. often taking the ending of the MC. SG. and *vice versa*. The neuter differs from the masculine only in one set of forms (NOM.-ACC.). The feminine gender remains distinct from the masculine only in INSTR., DAT., ABL., GEN. and LOC. SG. where only three (sometimes two or even one) forms are available for the five cases.[1] After the first stage of MIA *-ā* is no longer a popular fem. affix (except in abstract nouns), and it survives

1. Thus: *parisāe* (INSTR., DAT., ABL., GEN., LOC. SG.), *pariśāya* (INSTR., LOC. SG.), *parisāyaṃ* (LOC. SG.).

only in stems inherited from OIA. MIA uses -*ī* for the adjective and -(*i*)*nī* for the noun. Thus: A *dinnā* but Ap. *diṇṇī* <**dinna*- 'given'; A (K) *pala-lokikyā* but Jogi, *deva-daśikyi*; (A has a marked preference for -*ā*: D, J, sn *hedisā-*= *idṛśī*; T etc. *sudivasā*, *paṃnaḍasā-*, *cāvudasā* but *cātuṃmāsī-*, *sūkalī*); N *aniti*=*ānitā*; *diti*=*dattā*; Ap. Vikramorvaśīya) *kantī* = *kāntā*, *diṭṭhī* = *dṛṣṭā*, *paraputthī* = *parapuṣṭā*, *taṇu-sarīrī*= + *śarīrā*; etc. Examples of the -(*i*)*nī* feminine: A *gabhinī* <*garbhiṇī*; A *bhikhunī*, <**bhikṣuṇī*; Lucknow Mus. Jaina Image Inscr. of Huvishka *śiśiniya*=*śiṣyāyāḥ*.

§55. The dual number which in OIA was mostly an archaism, if not always an artificiality, is completely replaced by the plural in MIA. The only relics of it are the numeral 'two' (A *dvo*, Pkt. *do* <*dvau*; A *duve*, P *dve*, *duve*, Pkt. *be*, *duve* <*dve*) and the pronominal adjective 'both' (Khar. D *uhu*, P *ubho* <*ubhau*). The numeral is also declined in pl. in Ap. (as in dialectal Greek): *beṇṇi* <**dvīni*. N *padebh-yam* (=*pādābhyām*), and *pateyo*, *pādeyo*, *padayo* (=*pāda-yoḥ*) are Sanskritisms.[2]

§56. Of the seven cases (excluding the vocative) the dative is a dying idiom, and by the end of the first phase of MIA it is fully replaced by the genitive. The instrumental often functions also for the ablative and the locative. In Avahaṭṭha there is complete fusion of the instrumental, ablative and locative cases.

§57. The MIA case-endings have the following origins: (a) inherited from OIA either directly or analogically extended, (b) inherited from IIr but not through recorded OIA, (c) inherited from IE but not attested in IIr, (d) adverbial affixes used as case-endings, and (e) endings created by metanalysis from some consonantal forms. The OIA (inherited) endings are: Nom. sg. in -*s* and nil; Nom. pl. in -*as*, -*s* or -*i* (nt.); Nom. (nt.) -Acc sg. in -*m*; acc. pl. in -*n* and -*s*; Instr. sg. in -*ena*, -*enam* (as in RV *ghanenaṃ*

2. Burrow §66.

ekam), *-nā* and *-ā;* INSTR. PL. in *-bhis;* DAT. SG. in *-āya, -yai* and (?) *-aye;* ABL. SG. in *-at* and *-as;* GEN. SG. in *-sya* and *-(a)s;* GEN. PL. in *-nām;* LOC. SG. in *-i;* and LOC. PL. in *-su.* The OIA endings that are extended from one declensional type to another are: ABL. SG. *-smāt;* GEN. PL. *-sām;* and LOC. SG. *-smin* from the demonstrative pronoun, and DAT.-ABL. SG.-PL. *-bhyam* from the personal pronoun. The IIr inheritances are: ACC. PL. in *-e* (probably from NOM. PL. of the demonstrative pronoun, extended to the ACC. PL. in Old Iranian: OP *daiy, avaiy,* Av. *ave, ime, aete*) and LOC. SG. in *-yā* (?). An IE survival not found in OIA is: GEN. SG. in *-sa* (IE **-so*: cf. Gk. *teo,* Gothic *θis,* OP *ahuramazdāhā*). An IE survival not attested in any Old Iranian or Indo-Aryan dialect is DAT.-ABL.-LOC. PL. ending **-bhim* (cf. Gk. *phin*). The case-endings of adverbial origin are: INSTR. SG. FM. in *-yā;* ABL. SG. in *-tas;* and ABL.-LOC. SG. in *-hi* (IE **-dhi;* cf. Gk. *ithi, Iliόthi;* OP *yadiy;* MIA *yahi;* OIA *uttarāhi*); and ABL. in **-ha(m),* (IE* *-the(m)* or **-dhe(m)*: cf. Gk. *oíkothen*). **-bhim* too was originally an adverbial affix. The MIA endings secreted from OIA *-an* (*-in*) and *-as* stems are; NOM. PL. *-nas* ABL.-GEN. SG. *-nas* and *-sas,* INSTR. SG. in *-sā,* and LOC. SG. in *-si.* The convergent phonetic tendencies greatly accelerated the levelling down of the different case-forms, and the functions and forms of the local cases became partially identical. To obviate consequent ambiguity a number of post-positions or auxiliary words come in to employ.

§58. NOM. SG. The endingless NOM. follows the OIA norm: *pajā,* <*prajā, akkhi* <*akṣi, bahu, rājā,* etc. *-s* is lost after a vowel other than *-a*: *vaḍḍhi,* <*vṛddhiḥ, bhikku* <*bhikṣuḥ,* etc. After *-a, -s* shows threefold treatment; (1) it is lost as in OP: *jana* <*janaḥ, cāga* <*tyāgaḥ,* etc.; (2) it combines with the stem vowel into the external sandhi form *-o* (as in Avestan): *jano* <*janaḥ, putto* <*putraḥ,* etc.; and (3) it combines with the stem vowel into the internal sandhi form *-e* (as in *edhi* <**azdhi,* etc., and once externally: *sūre duhitā*): *jane, putte,* etc. *-m* is the NT. ending for the *-a* stem is in OIA but is extended to other NT. stems as well; *dānaṃ, bahuṃ,* etc.

ACC. SG. -*m* (MC. and FM., also NOM.-ACC. NT.) is dialectally lost: *doṣa(ṃ)*, *pujā* or *pūjam*, etc. In Avahaṭṭha it has become -*u*, being strengthened by some Nom. SG. MS. for in -*o* becoming -*u*. Thus: *phalana* > *phalu*, *janam* > *jaṇu*.

INSTR. SG. (1) -*ena* (MC.-NT. *a* stem, later extended to other stem): *piyena* <*priya*-, N *palp'iyena* <*bali*-, etc. (2) The ending -*enam* occurs in the literary Prakrits and in Apabhraṃśa: Pkt. *kāleṇaṃ*, Ap. *kālẽ* <**kālenam*, etc. (3) -*nā* (*i*, *u* stems, inherited and secondary): *agginā*, *bhraduna* =*bhrātrā*, *dhituna*=*duhitrā*, *pitinā*=*pitrā*, etc. (4) -*ā* (FM. *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū* stems): *vaḍḍhiyā* <*vṛddhyā*, *jaccā* <*jātyā*, etc. The *a* stem forms like P *pādā*, and *sahatthā* may be either INSTR. (Vedic *pādā*, *svahastā*) or abl. (*pādāt*, *svahastāt*). (5) -*yā* (adv.; FM., cf. Vedic *mithuyā*, *sādhuyā*, etc.; the affix is identical with the Vedic gerundial affix -*yā*: RV *ācyā*, etc.): *pūjāya*, *pañaï*=*prajñayā*, etc. (6) -*ya* (same as OIA gerundial affix -*ya*: *ādāya*, etc.): *pūjāya*, *aggāya*,=*agrayā*, etc. This ending fell together with the ABL. GEN. and the Loc. ending -*yām*. (7) -*yai* (originally DAT. but extended to ABL.-GEN. in Younger Avestan and in Vedic Prose; further extended to INSTR.-LOC. in MIA): *pūjāe* <*pūjā*-, *vaḍḍhiye* <*vṛddhi*-, etc. (8) -*sā* (after the analogy of *manasā*, *tejasā*, etc.): P *balasā*, *dhammasā*, etc.

DAT. SG. (1) -*āya* (*a* stem; confined to early MIA only): *atthāya* <*artha*-, *kammāya* <*karma(n)*-, etc. (2) -*yai* FM., extended to the *a* stem also; cf. Vedic inf. *etavai*: *atthāye* =*arthāya*, etc. The GEN. usually represents the DAT. in MIA.

ABL. SG. (1) -*āt* (*a* stem; mostly in early MIA): *dhammā*, etc.[3] (2) -*tas* (adv.): *mukhate* <*mukha*-, *vañanato* <*vyajana*-, etc. In the literary Prakrits <-*tas* is added to the inherited ABL. (cf. *mattaḥ*): *puttā(d)o* <*putrā(t)*+-*tas*, etc. (3) -*smāt* (after *tasmāt*, etc.): P *dhammamhā*, *aggimhā* <*agni*-, etc. (4) -*sas* (after *manasaḥ*, etc.):[4] Ap. *rucchahu*,

3. But there forms may be taken as INSTR., used for the ABL.
4. -*hu* is generally taken as an extension of the pl. affix -*huṃ*.

rucchahe <**vṛkṣaṣaḥ,* etc. (5) *-*dhi* (extended from Loc.): Khar. D *cavadhi* (Cro. 31)=*cāpāt.*

Gen. Sg. (1) -*sya* (extended to all mc.-nt. stems and also to fm. stems when brought over to the *a* declension): *janassa, aggissa,* etc. (2) *-*sa:* Andhra Inscr. *kulagotrasa,* N *devaputraza,* Ceylon Inscr. *tiśaha* 'of Tiṣya', *maharajaha;* Mg. *kāmāha;* Ava. *juaiha* (<*yuvatī-*). (3) -*as* (cf. RV *avyaḥ*)[5] with the loss of -*s* or, more probably, Instr. Loc. extended: P *kaññāya* <*kanyā-,* Pkt. *mālā(y)a.* (4) -*yai* (see Dat.): *pūjāye, devīye.* (5) -*sas* (see Abl.): Ap. *rucchahe.*

Loc. Sg. (1) -*i: dhamme,* etc. (2) -*smin* (after *asmin,* etc.) shows three dialectal variants: -*mhi* (western <-*mmi* (sometime written -*ṃmi*), -*spi* (north-western), -*ssi* or -*ṃsi* or -*assiṃ* (eastern): *dhammamhi, dhammasi, uyanaspi* <*udyāna-, kālaṃsi* <*kāla-,* etc. P -*smiṃ* is Sanskritism, and Pkt. -*mmi* is an assimilated form of -*mhi.* (3) Ceylon Inscr. and Ap. -*hi* comes partly from adverbial *-*dhi* and partly from *-*si* (after *manasi* etc.): Ceylon Inscr. *viharahi* <**vihāradhi* or **vihārasi, cetahi* 'in the *caitya*'; Ap *gharahi* <**gharadhi* or **gharasi.* Asokan *vijitasi* probably bears the same ending.

Voc. Sg. (1) The bare stem: *putta, ayya*<*ārya- kanti* <*kāntā, piaama* <*priyatama-.* (2) The stem vowel lengthened: *puttā.* (3) Nom. sg.: *putto, mahiharu* <*mahīdharaḥ.* (4) Sanskritism: P *kaññe* <*kanye.*

Nom. Pl. (1) -*as: puttā, nadīo* <**nadiyaḥ* (cf. *dhiyaḥ,*= *nadyaḥ.* (2) -*e* (see acc.): N *avasiṭhe* <*avasiṣṭha-.* (3) -*nas* (after *balinaḥ* etc.): Pkt. *aggiṇo.* (4) -*asas* (Vedicism): P *dhammāse* <**dharmāsaḥ.* (5) -*āni* (*a* stem nt., dialectally extended to mc. also): A *lukhāni*=*vṛkṣāḥ.*

Nom.,Acc. Pl. Nt. (1) -*ni* (added to the stem vowel lengthened): *mūlāni, kammāni, bahūni.* (2) The stem vowel lengthened as in Vedic: *prāṇā, akkhī, mahū.* (3) *īm* (the enclitic pronominal particle used in RV as Acc. for all the

5. Always fm; *cf.* Wackernagel III §75a.

numbers and genders). As a case-ending for Nom.-Acc. nt. it occurs only in the literary Prakrits and in Apabhraṃśa, the idiom probably emanating from such uses as RV *yā́ īm bhávanti ājáyaḥ* 'whatever conflicts take place' 7.32.17), *kā́ īm vyàktā náraḥ* 'who indeed are the radiant men?' (7.56.1): Pkt. *yāiṃ*, *phalāiṃ*, Ap. *phalaĩ* <*phalā*+ *īm*; *dahīiṃ*, *dahīĩ* <*dadhī*+*īṃ*.

Acc. Pl. (1) *-ān* (*a* stem only; mostly in early MIA, and as Sanskritism in the literary Prakrits): Khar. D *racha*, Pkt. *rukkhā* <*vṛkṣān*, etc. (2) *-e* (see Nom.: in early MIA only as Acc., later extended to nom.): *atthe*=*arthān*, *amacce* <*amātya-*, etc. (3) *-ni* (extended from nt.; only in early MIA): *gharastāni*, *gahathāni*=*gṛhasthān*, *hathīni*=*hastinaḥ*. (4) *-as* (extended from Nom.; fm. only; *pakatiyo* = *prakṛtīḥ*. *dugatio*=*durgatīḥ*.

Instr. Abl.-Loc. Pl. (1) *-bhis*; *dhammehi* <*dharmebhiḥ* (Vedic), *ñatihi* <*jñātibhiḥ*. (2)**-bhim* (not occurring in early MIA): Pkt. *puttehiṃ*, Ap. *puttahĩ* <**putrebhim*; *aggīhim*, *aggihĩ*.

Abl. Pl. (exclusively in the literary Prakrits and in Ap.). (1) **-bhim*+*tas*: *puttehiṃto*. (2) **-sum* (loc.)+*tas* (cf. RV *patsutaḥ*): *puttesuṃto* (gram.). (3) *-ha* (IE **-dhe*, as in *ádha* (RV), *ihá* (MIA *idha*), *kúha*, *viśváha*, *samaha*; or/and OIA *-tha* as in *átha*): Ap. *rucchaha* <**vṛkṣadha* or **vṛkṣatha*. The ending may be identical with Gen. *-sa* <*-ha*. (4) **-tham* (cf. Gk. *-then*); as in *itthám* and *kathám*: Ap. *rucchaha*. (5) *-su*(*m*) (see Loc.): Ap. *rucchahu*, *rucchahũ*.

Gen. Pl. (1) *-nām*: *pānāna*(*ṃ*) <*prāṇa-*, *na*(*d*)*īṇaṃ* <*nadī-*. (2) **-sim* (from the pronoun; cf. Gk. dual ending *-in*, also Gothic Gen. pl. ending *-ēm*): *sagottesi* <*sagotra-*, (3) *-sām* (from the pronoun): Ap. *rucchahã* <**vṛkṣaṣām*. (4) *-su*(*m*): see Abl.

Loc. Pl. (1) *-su*; *maggesu* <*mārgà-*, *cātuṃmāsisu* <*cāturmāsī-*. (2)**-sum* (in the literary Prakrits only): *vaṇesuṃ*. Cf. Gk. *-sin*.

2. A-DECLENSION

§59. The *a* declension is the most predominant type that influences all the types of the MC. nouns and ultimately emerges as practically the only declensional pattern at the close of MIA. Even in the earliest phase there is a confusion between the MC. and NT. stems and forms. Thus: A (G, D, J) *jīvaṃ=jīvaḥ;* A (M, K) *phale=phalam;* A (T) *nigohāni=nyagrodhāḥ;* A (G, K, S, M) *pavajitāni,* A (K, D) *hathīni=hastinaḥ.*

NOM. SG. (i) *nil* (<-*s*, MC.). This is of dialectal origin in pre-IA (cf. OP *pārsa* <**pārsas*), but not confined to a regional limit, and is very noticeable in the inscriptional MIA and in Ap. Examples: A (S) *jana, dhrama-ghoṣa;* A (S, M, K) *sayama* <*saṃyamaḥ;* (Rp) *yāvataka* <*yāvattakaḥ;* Besnagar Inscr. *dama cāga* (<*tyāgaḥ*) *apramāda;* Khar. D *siha* <*siṃhaḥ, rayaradha* <*rājarathaḥ;* N *maharayaputra, maṃnuśa;* Amg. *Buddhaputta;* Mg. *ṇala*<*naraḥ;* Ap. *haṃsa, parahua* <*parabhṛtaḥ;* BS *suta* 'son'. (ii) -*o* >-*u* (<-*s*, MC.). This is the external sandhi form generalised (as in Av. *aspo* <**aśvas*) which predominates in all the dialects except those of the east. Examples: A (S, G), P, Pkt. *jano;* Khar. D. *dhamadharo* <*dharmadharaḥ, suriu* <*sūryaḥ, apramadu* <*apramādaḥ;* Nanaghat *aso* <*aśvaḥ;* N *putro;* Ap. *jaṇu;* etc. (iii) -*e*> -*i* (<-*s*, MC.). This is an internal sandhi form (<IIr. *-*az*) which appears predominantly in the eastern dialects and sporadically in the north-western. Examples: A (D, J, K, T, M, S), P, Pkt. *jane;* A (S) *bhagi aṃñi* <*bhāgaḥ anyaḥ, srestamati* <*śreṣṭhamataḥ;* Ceylon Inscr. *pute, puti* <*putraḥ, maharaji* <*mahārājaḥ;* N *kiṭae* <*kṛtakaḥ, parikreye* <*parikreyaḥ.*

The MC. (nom.) is sometimes used for the NT. (nom.-acc.). Examples: A (S, M, D, J, K, T, G) *dāne=dānam;* A (S) *kaṭavo=kartavyam, śako=śakyam, anudivaso* <*anudivasam;* Khar. D. *suhu=sukham, masuru=madhuram.* Ap. *dhaṇu, phalu* <*dhanam dhanaḥ; phalam phalaḥ.*

ACC. SG. (also NOM. SG. NT.). (1) -*ṃ* (<-*m*): A, P *janaṃ,* Pkt. *jaṇaṃ,* Ap. *janaṃ* >*janã;* A, P *dānaṃ;* Pkt.

dāṇam; Ap. *salilaṃ, saliaā* <**salilakam* = *salīlam*. (2) nil (<*-m*). The weakening of the final nasal and its loss (as also in the gen. pl. ending *-nām*) characterises the inscriptional MIA and Ap. Examples: A (S) *aṭhra*, (M) *athra;* A (M) *doṣā*, (K) *dosā;* A (K) +*paṣaḍa* <+*pāṣaṇḍam;* A (S, M, T) *bahuka;* A (S, M) *dana* <*dānam;* Khar. D *doṣa, viśeṣa, etadiśa* <*etādṛśam, bhaṣita* <*bhāṣitam;* Andhra Inscr. *vāṭaka* <*vāṭakam;* N *maṃnuśa* <*mānuṣyam, dita*=*dattam;* Ap. *jāṇia*=*jñātam, sacchanda* <*svachandam.*

The nom. is sometimes extended to the acc. Examples: A (S, M, K, T, etc.) *jīve*=*jīvaṃ* (G, D, J); Khar. D. *divu*= *dīpam, Kamu*=*karma;* N *toṣu*=*doṣam;* Ap. *hatthu*=*hastam, guru-vuttaü*=*guru-uktaṁ*. The *-u* forms however may be true accusatives as in Gandhari and Apa.-Ava. *-am* > *-um.*

Instr. Sg. (i) *-ena:* A *p*(*r*)*iyena,* (K) *piyenā,* (T) *bhayenā;* Khar D. *sañamena* <*saṃyamena, manena*=*manasā;* Amg. *balena;* Ap. *puttena;* etc. (ii) **-inā* (pronominal) or MIA *-inā* <*-ena:* Khar. D. *rativivasina* <+**vivāsina* or +*vivasena, sahasina* <**sahasriṇa* or *sahasreṇa,* N *parihaṣina* = *parihāsena;* Ap. *puttiṇa.* (iii) -**enam* (as in RV *ghanenaṁ ekam*), only in the literary Prakrits: Pkt. *kāleṇaṃ.* (iv) Dialectally, *-eṃ* (<**-ena*(*m*)?); Ap. *kāleṃ, kālẽ;* <*kālena*(*m*); *nevijjẽ* <*naivedyena, sijjhẽ siddhena.* (v) Dialectally, *-ā:* (Vedic): P *sahatthā* <*svahastā, pādā.* (vi) Dialectally **-sā* (after the analogy of *vacasā, manasā*): P, Amg. *balasā*=*balena;* Amg. *kāyasā.*

Dat. Sg. (i) Dialectally, *-āya:* A (G) *athāya* <*arthāya, kaṃmāya*=*karmaṇe, aparigodhāya;* Khar. D. *suhaï* <*sukhāya* (or **sukhāyai*); N *-arthaya;* Mah. *vanāa* <*vanāya* (undoubtedly Sanskritism); Amg. *sāgapāgāe* <*śākapāka-.* (ii) *-āyai* (a transference from the fm. *ā*-stem): A (except G) *aṭhāye, ath*(*r*)*āye* <**arthāyai*=*arthāya;* Khar. D. *suhaï* <**sukhāyai* (or *sukhāya*); Amg. *atthāye, aṭṭhāye.*

Abl. Sg. (i) Dialectally, *-āt:* A (G) *saṃvaṭakapā* <*saṃvṛt*(*t*)*a- kalpāt, athā* (XII 9) <*arthāt* (or error for (*arthāya*); Khar. D. *duha* <*duḥkhāt, apramada* (A^3 14)

<*apramādāt, sadharma* <*svadharmāt;* Andhra Inscr. *kāṃcīpurā* 'from *Kāñcīpura*'; P *dhammā;*[1] Pkt. *guṇā.*[6] (ii) *-tas* (adv. affix): A (S, G) *mukhato,* (K, D, J) *mukhate,* (M) *mukhati;* Mahasthan Inscr. *puḍanagalate* 'from Puḍanagara'; Khar. D. *suhatu* <*sukhataḥ, patanato;* N *nagarade* <*nagarataḥ.* (iii) *-tas* added to the inherited Abl. or Instr. (cf. Atharvaveda *mattaḥ,* Vedic *ārāttāt, uttarāttāt, paścātāt*), appearing only in the literary Pkt.: *puttā(d)o* <*putrā(t)taḥ; sīsāu* <**śīrṣā(t)taḥ.* (iv) Dialectally, *-smāt* (after the analogy of *asmāt,* etc.): P *dhammasmā, dhammamhā.* (v) Dialectally, *-bhyas* (Dat.-Abl. pl. ending) or *-su* (Loc. Sg.): Ap. *khaṇahū* <**kṣṇabhyam, kṣaṇesu=kṣaṇāt;* Ap. *vacchahe, vacchahu* 'from a tree'. (vi) *-*dhi* (adv. affix): Khar. D. *cavadhi* (Cro 31) <**cāpadhi=cāpāt.*

Gen. Sg. (i) *-sya:* A *janasa,* P *janassa,* Pkt. *jaṇassa* <*janasya;* Besnagar Inscr. *putasa* <*putrasya;* Ceylon Inscr. *sagasa* <*saṃghasya;* Khar. D. *sañatasa* <*saṃyatasya, suyikamasa=śucikarmaṇaḥ:* Andhra Inscr. *-sāsaṇassa.* (ii) Dialectally *-*sa:* Andhra Inscr. *kulagottasa* <+**gotrasa* (rather than +*gotrasya*); Ceylon Inscr. *maharajaha=mahārājasya, nadaha=nandasya;* N *maṃnuśasa, devapuṭrasa;* Mg. *kāmāha* <**kāmasa, cāludattāha*[7] = *cārudattasya;* Ap. *kavvaha=kāvyasya;* etc. (iii) Dialectally, *-ssu* <*-sya* + *-as* (double Gen.): Ap. *jaṇassu.* (iv) Dialectally, *-ho, -he* <**-saḥ* after the analogy of *manasaḥ* etc: Ap *sāaraho=sāgarasya.*

Loc. Sg. (i) *-e:* A (S, G) *vijite,* (S, M) *dhrame* <*dharme;* Khar. D. *masi* <*māse, suñakare* <*śunyāgāre, goyari* <*gocare;* N *mase* <*māse, haste;* P *dhamme;* Pkt. *bhārahe* <**bhārathe;* Ap. *kāṇaṇae* <**kānanake, mūli* <*mūle, viṇaṭṭhaï* <**vinaṣṭake;* etc. (ii) Dialectally, *-smin* (analogically from *asmin* etc.). It shows these dialectal variations: (a) *-mhi* (the central variant), (b) *-spi* (the north-western variant), (c) *-(s)si* (the eastern variant), (d) *-mmi* (the later central variant), or *-mri* (as written for

6. May be Instr. Sg. in *-ā.*
7. The long vowel is after the analogy of *tāha=tasya,* etc.

-*mmi* or -*mhi* in Wardak Vase Inscr.): *thuvamri* <*stūpasmin, *khavadamri* 'at Khavada', and (e) -*ṃsi* the later eastern variant). Examples: A (G) *vinitamhi*, (S, M) *vinitaspi*, (K, D, J) *vinītasi* <**vinītasmin* (or **vinītasi*); P *dhammamhi, dhammasmiṃ* (Sanskritism); N *thanaṃmi*=*sthāne*; N *kalaṃmi*, Pkt. *kālaṃmi*=*kāle*; Amg. *logaṃsi*=*loke*. (iii) -*tas* (as in ABL.): Pkt. *aṭavīte* (Sanskritism). (iv) Dialectally, -**bhim* (cf. Gk. -*phin*): Mg. *pavahaṇāhiṃ*= *pravahaṇe*; Ap. *cittahĩ*=*citte*. (v) -**dhi* or -**si*: Ceylon Inscr. *viharahi*=*vihāre*, *cetahi*=*caitye*.

VOC. SG. (i) nil: P *ayya, ayyā* <*ārya*; Pkt. *putta, puttā* <*putra*; etc. (ii) nom. sg.: P *bhesike* 'Bhesika!' Amg. *putto*= *putra*; Mg. *ceḍe*=*ceṭa*; Ap. *mahiharu*=*mahīdhara*.

NOM. PL. (i) -*as*: A *putā*, P, Pkt. *puttā*, Ap. *puttā* <*putrāḥ*; Khar. D. (*savi*) *saghara* <(*sarve*) *saṃskārāḥ*, (*cauri*) *pada* <(*catvāri*) *pādāḥ*, *anatma* (A^3 3)=*anātmānaḥ*; Nanaghat *asā* <*aśvaḥ*; N *potag'a* <*potakāḥ*. (ii) Dialectally, -*asas* (IIr. double PL.): P *dhammāse* <*dharmāsaḥ* (probably an artificial archaism). (iii) *-*e* (from the pronoun extended dialectally from the ACC. PL.): N *avaśiṣṭe*=*avaśiṣṭāḥ*, *avaśiṣṭān*. (iv) -*āni* (NT., also dialectally extended to MC.[8]): A, P *phalāni*; Khar. D. *diṣṭani*; Amg. *phalāṇi*; N *karyani*; A (K, D, J) *lukhāni* <**vṛkṣāṇi*=*vṛkṣāḥ*; Ap. *hariṇāī*=*hariṇāḥ*. (v) Dialectally, *ā* (NT. NOM.-ACC., Vedic): P *rūpā* (also *rūpāni*); Amg. *ṭhāṇā*=*sthānāni*; Ś *jāṇavattā*=*yānapātrāṇi*; Mg. *akkharā* =*akṣarāṇi* (vi) Dialectally, -**āim* (not occurring in inscriptional MIA): Pkt. *vaṇāiṃ*, Ap. *vaṇaĩ*=*vanāni*.

ACC. PL. (i) Dialectally, -*ān* (rare, mainly on account of identity with Nom.; available instances are often Sanskritisms): Khar. D *racha* (Cvo 9), Pkt. *rukkhā*, Ap. *rukkhā*<*vṛkṣān*; Khar. D *manuṣa* (Cro 6) <*manuṣyān*. (ii) -**e* (from the pronoun; cf. OP -*daiy*=OIA *tān*). The ending which in origin was dialectal soon became pan-MIA. Examples: A (G) *athe*,

8. The extension of -*ani* forms to MC. NOM. and ACC. probably arose out of confusion between the NOM. and ACC. PL. MC., which became identical by phonetic change (*narāḥ*>*narā* and *narān*>*narā*).

P, Pkt. *athe=arthān;* Andhra Inscr. *amacce=amātyān.* (iii) *-āni* (NT. but extended to the MC.-FM. also)[9]: A (S, M, G) *rūpāni,* (K, D, J) *lūpāni;* A (S, M, K) *g(r)ahathāni,* (G) *gharastāni=gṛhasthān;* A (T etc.) *pulisāni=puruṣān;* Khar. D *pavani kamani* (Cro 26) <*pāpāni karmāṇi.*

INSTR. PL. (i) *-ebhis* (Vedic): A *śatehi, satehi* <*śatebhiḥ;* Khar. D *amitrehi, dhamatrakehi* <*dharmacakrebhiḥ;* Andhra Inscr. *parihārehi;* N *putradhidarehi=putraduhitṛbhiḥ;* P *dhammehi;* Pkt. *sabbāvehi* <*sadbhāvebhiḥ;* Ap. *puttahi;* etc. (ii) Dialectally, *-*bhim* (cf. Gk. *-phin*): Pkt. *puttehiṃ,* Ap. *puttahiṃ, puttahī̃.*

DAT. PL. (i) *-ebhis* (the same as INSTR.): A (nj, bb) *ājīvikehī* 'to the Ājīvikas'; A (D, J) *baṃbhanasamanehi;* A (M) *mahamatrehi,* (K. D, J) *mahāmātehi* (but G has LOC., Ś GEN.).

ABL. PL. (i) *-ebhis* (the same as INSTR.): P *kammehi pāpakehi* 'from evil deeds'; N *tag'astehi.*[10] (ii) Dialectally, *-*bhim+-tas*: Amg. *tilehiṃto=tilebhyaḥ.* (iii) Dialectally and according to old grammarians, *-*sum+-tas.* (iv) Dialectally, *-su, -*sum* (LOC. PL.), or *-*bhas, -*bham:*[11] Ap. *rucchahu* (*-hu*), *rukkhahu* (*-hu*), *racchahe, rucchaha* (*hã*) <*vṛkṣa-.*

GEN. PL. (i) *-ānām*: A *prāṇānaṃ, pānānaṃ* <*prāṇānām;* Wardak Vase Inscr. *rohaṇa* <*rohāṇām;* Khar. D *ariana* <*āryāṇām, phalana pakana* <*phalānām pakvānām;* N *manuśana* <*manuṣyāṇām;* P *dhammānaṃ;* Pkt. *puttāṇa(ṃ)*: Ap. *puttāṇã, khavaṇāṇã* <*kṣapaṇakānām;* etc. (ii) Dialectally, *-*eṣim* (cf. Gk. dual ending *-in* <*-*sim*): Basim Copper-plate Inscr. *-sagottesi* <**sagotreṣim.* (iii) Dialectally, *-sām* (from the pronoun): Ap. *rucchahã* <*vṛkṣāsām.*

LOC. PL. (i) *-eṣu*: A (K, D, J, T) *magesu,* A (M) *mageṣu,* P. Pkt. *maggesu* <*mārgeṣu;* A (G) *panthesū=pathiṣu;* Khar.

9. It is the only ACC. PL. ending in Asokan.
10. See BURROW §63.
11. The transition *-bhy-* > *-h-* indicates that originally these were free particles as GK *phi(n)*. But see Gen. below.

D *idrieṣu* <*indriya-, bhuteṣu;* N *nagareṣu, goṭheṣu* <*goṣṭha-.* (ii) Dialectally, *-*sum* (cf. Gk. *-sin*): Pkt. *vaṇesuṃ.* (iii) Dialectally, **-ebhim* (extension of the Instr.-Abl.): Amg. *bhūehiṃ* <*bhūta-;* Ap. *maggahī=mārge.*

Voc. Pl. (i) Same as nom.-pl.; e.g. BS *bhikṣūḥ,* Pali *bhikkhave,* etc. (ii) *-ho* (Voc. particle): BS *amātyāho,* Ap. *jaṇaho,* etc.

3. The *ā-* declension.

§60. The fm. *ā*-declension shows the following peculiarities: (i) in most dialects Instr., Dat., (Abl.,-) Gen., and Loc. sg. have the same form, and in the other dialects only two forms, (ii) the final nasal of the Loc. sg. ending is lost from the beginning in most dialects, (iii) Nom. pl. dialectally follows the model of the IE. diphthongal declension, and (iv) there is a growing tendency of following the analogy of the mc. *a-* declension, which appears almost complete in N and in the late Ap.

Nom. Sg. nil: A, P, Pkt. *pajā* <*prajā* (non-Vedic) or *prajāḥ* (Vedic); Khar. D *diśa* <*dīśā, praña* <*prajñā;* Nanaghat *dakhinā;* Nagar. *bhariyā, bhayā;* N *bharya* <*bhāryā;* Ap. *piaama* <*priyatamā.*

Acc. Sg. *-m* (often lost): A (G) *pūjāṃ,* (M) *puja(ṃ),* (K, S) *pūjā;* A (G) *vihāra-yātrāṃ,* (K, D) *-yātaṃ* <*-yātrām;* Khar. D *sena* <*senām, kala* <*kalām, jara* <*jarām;* N *bharya* <*bhāryām;* P, Pkt. *pūjaṃ;* Ap. *pūjaṃ, pūjā̃, pūja.*

Instr. Sg. (i) *-yā* (cf. late Vedic *āśirdāyā, viśvapsniyā*):[12] A (T, kq) *pūjāyā, sususāyā=śuśrūṣayā;* A (T) *agāyā* <*agryā-;* etc. (ii) **-ya* (cf. OIA gerund in *-ya*: *ādāya* etc.): A (G, Rdh, Mth, Rp), P *pūjāya,* Mah. *pūjāa* <**pūjāya;* A (T, Rdh, Mth, kq) *agāya* <*agryā;* A. (G, T, etc.) *vividhāya;* Nagar. (Ehuvula) *bhayyāya, sunhāya;* Khar. D *prañaya, prañae* <*prajñā-, vayai* <*vācā-* (these forms may be taken

12. Wackernagel, III §59B. The *-yā* Instr. is restricted to the early inscriptional MIA only.

as *-yā, -yai* or *-yām* INSTR.-DAT.-LOC. as well); (iii) *-yai* (the DAT. ending extended): A (K, S) *pūjāye, pūjaye*, Pkt. *pūjāe, pūjāi* <*pūjāyai;* A (K, S, M) *vividhāye, vividhaye;* A (D, J, K) *mādhuliyāye*, (S, M) *madhuriyaye* <**mādhuryāyai;* A (G) *madhuratāye;* N *ajeṣaṃnae* <*adhyeṣaṇāyai* or *-ṣaṇāya.* (iv) *-ā* (cf. Vedic *manīṣā*): P *rathiyā* <*rathyā.* (v) *-ena* (by transfer to the *a*-stem): Ap. *tisinẽ* <**tṛṣṇena*=*tṛṣṇayā, bhajjẽ sahiu*=*bhāryayā sahitaḥ.*

DAT. SG. *-yai*: A (T etc.) *vihisāye* <*vihiṃsā-;* A (T) *avihiṃsāye avihiṃsā-;* N *dutiyae* <**dūtiyāi*=*dauṭyāya;* Amg. *karaṇayāe* <*karaṇatā-.*

ABL. SG. (i) *-tas*: A (D) *takhasilāte* <*takṣaśilātaḥ* (Mbh.); N *purvadiśade* <*pūrvadiśā-, niāde* 'from Niyā'; Pkt. *mālā*(*d*)*o* >*mālāu* <*mālātaḥ.* (ii) *-ya* (extended from INSTR.): N *pacimadiśaya* <*paścimadiśā-;* P *kaññāya* <*kanyā-.*

GEN. SG. (i) *-yai* (extended from DAT. as in Vedic prose and Younger Avestan): A (kq) *dutiyāye* <*dvitīyā-;* N *bharyae* <*bhāryā-;* Pkt. *muddāe* <*mugdhā-;* Ap. *pucchiai* <**pṛcchitāyai.* (ii) *-ya* (extended from INSTR.): P *mālāya*, Mahfl *mālā* <*mālā-.* (iii) *-s*(*y*)*a* (by transfer to the *-a* stem: N *devatasa* <**devatāsya, cataroyaesa* 'of Cataroyā'; Ap. *tisha* <**tṛṣṇas*(*y*)*a*=*tṛṣṇāyāḥ; amiaāha* <**amṛtās*(*y*)*a*: (iv) *-yās* (GEN., or *-*ya* Instr.); Ceylon Inscr. *tiśaya* = *tiṣyāyāḥ, citaya* =*citayāḥ;* Nagar. *sodarāya mahāmātukāya.*

LOC. SG. (i) Dialectally, *-yām*: A (G) *gaṇanāyaṃ* <*gaṇanā-, parisāyaṃ*=*parisadi*, (J) *samāpāyaṃ* 'at Samāpā'; P *kaññāyaṃ* <*kanyā-.* (ii) *-ya* (from *yām*, or extended from INSTR.): A (S, M) *parisāya*=*pariṣadi;* A (G *atha-saṃtīraṇāya*, (D, J) *atha-saṃtīlanāya* <*-saṃtīraṇā-;* Khar. D ahitsa'i <**ahiṃsāya, ahiṃsāyām* or *ahiṃsāyai; bhamana'i* <*bhāvanā-;* N *vela-velaya*=*velā-velāyām;* P *kaññaya;* Mah. *mālāa* <*mālā-.* (iii) *-yai* (extended from DAT.): A (K) *palisāye*= *pariṣadi;* A (D, J) *pajāye* <*prajāyai;* N *bharyae;* Pkt. *mālāe*, Mah., Ap. *mālāi* <*mālāyai.* (iv) *-smin* (by transfer to the *a*-stem): A (S, M) *gaṇanasi*, (K, D) *gananasi* (but G *gaṇanāyaṃ*) <**gaṇanasmin;* N *velaṃmi*=*velāyām, sig'ataṃmi*

<*sikatāsmin; Amg. giriguhaṃsi <giriguhā. (v) Dialectally, -*bhim: Ap. divasa-ṇisahi=divasa-niśāyām.

Voc. Sg.: (i) OIA archaism: P *kaññe* <*kanye*; Ś *lade* <*late*; etc. (ii) The bare stem (or Nom. sg.): Amg. *puttā*= *putri*; Ap. *piaama*=*priyatame*.

Nom. Pl. (i) -*s*: A (J) *cikisā*, (K) *cikisakā* <*cikitsāḥ*, -*sakāḥ*;[13] A (T) *lopāpitā*=*ropitāḥ*; A (G) *katā*=*kṛtāḥ*; P *kaññā*; Pkt. *mālā*. (ii) Dialectally, -*yas* (after the analogy of -*ay* and -*iy* stems; e.g. *sakhāyaḥ*, *vṛkiàḥ*): A (G) *mahiḍāyo*, Mah. *mahilāo*, *mahilāu*=*mahilāḥ*; Nanaghat *dakhināyo*, P *kaññāyo*; Amg. *devayāo*, Ś *devadāo*=*devatāḥ*; Mah., Ap. *dhaṇṇāu*=*dhanyāḥ*.

Acc. Pl. Same as nom. No instance occurs in Asokan.

Instr. Pl. (i) -*bhis*: Nagar. *cāṃtisiriṇikāhi* (hon. Pl.); Kalawan Cop.-pl. Inscr. *ṣnuṣaehi*=*snūṣābhiḥ*; P *kaññāhi*; Pkt. *mālāhi*; Ap. *vāahi* <*vācābhiḥ*. (ii) -**bhim*: Pkt. *mālāhiṃ*; Ap. *micchehī* <*mithyebhim* (transfer to the *a*-stem)= *mithyābhiḥ*.

Abl. Pl. (i) -*bhis* -extended from Instr.): P *kaññāhi*; etc. (ii) Dialectally, -*bhyas*:[14] Ap. *mālāhu*. (iii) Dialectally, -**bhim*+-*tas*: Pkt. *mālāhiṃto*. (iv) Dialectally (according to the old grammarians), -**sum*+-*tas*: Pkt. *mālāsuṃto*.

Gen. Pl. (i) -*nām*: Nagar. *suṃnhānaṃ*; Khar D *gadhana*, *gaśana* <*gāthānām*; P *kaññānaṃ*; Pkt. *mālāṇa*(*ṃ*). (ii) -*sām* (pronominal) or -*bhyas* or -*bhyasu* (extended from Abl.): Ap. *mālāhu* <*mālabhyaḥ*, *mālāhū* <**mālābhyam*.

Loc. Pl. (i) -*su*: A (T), *disāsu* <*diśāsu*; P *mālāsu*; etc. (ii) -**sum*: Pkt. *mālāsuṃ*. (iii) -**bhim* (extended from Instr.): Ap. *daha-dihaī* <*diśā*-.

Voc. Pl. Ap. *mālaho*.

13. D *cikisa*, G *cikīcha* shows the final vowel short. S, M *cikisa* is indeterminate.
14. Or from the Gen. Pl. ending -*sām* (pronominal).

4. The *i*- Declension (Non-feminine).

§61. The *i*-stem (MC. and NT.) came very early under the influence of the *in*-stems as attested by the following nt. forms of Sanskrit: *vārine, vāriṇaḥ* and *vāriṇi*. From the very beginning the *i*-declension in MIA has modelled some forms after the analogy of the *in*-declension. The influence of the *a*-stem gathered acceleration after the end of the first phase. The declension is detailed below.

NOM. SG. (MC.). (i) *-s*: A (T etc.) *vidhi;* A (ru) *sakyamuni*[15] <*śākyamuniḥ;* N *palp'i* <*baliḥ;* P, Pkt, Ap. *aggi* <*agniḥ*. (ii) Analogy of the *-in* form: Pkt. *aggī.*

ACC. SG. (MC.) and NOM.-ACC. SG. (NT.) (i) *-m* (MC.): Khar D *samadhi* <*samādhiṁ, agi* <*agnim;* N *palp'i;* P, Pkt. *aggiṃ;* Ap. *aggiṃ, aggi* (ii) nil (NT.): A (K, D) *asamati* <*asamāpti;* P, Pkt. Ap. *akkhi* <*akṣi.* (iii) *-m* (NT.), after the analogy of the *a*-stem: P, Pkt. *akkhiṃ.* (iv) *-ī* (NT.), after the analogy of the FM. *i*-stem: Pkt. *dahī*[16] <*dadhi.*

INSTR. SG. (i) *-nā*: A (K, D, J) *pitinā, bhātinā* <*piti-, bhāti-* <*pitṛ-, bhrātṛ-;* P *agginā*, Pkt., Ap. *aggiṇā*, Ap. *aggiṇa* <*agninā;* etc. (ii) *-ena* (after the analogy of the *a*-stem): N *palp'iyena;* Ap. *aggī̃* <**aggiẽ* <**agni-ena.*

DAT. SG. (i) *-sya* (extended from GEN.): P *aggissa.* (ii) *-nas* (extended from GEN.): P *aggino.*

ABL. SG. (i) *-tas*: A (br, sd) *suvaṃnagirite* 'from Suvarṇagiri; Pkt. *aggī(d)o*, Mah, Ap. *aggīu* <*agnitaḥ.* (ii) Dialectally, *-smāt* (from the pronoun): P *aggimhā, aggismā.* (iii) Dialectally, *-nā* (extension of INSTR.): P *agginā.* (iv) Dialectally, *-bhyas* (= *-bhias*): Ap. *aggihe.*

15. The reading is *sakyamunīti*. If the long vowel is not the result of sandhi contraction *-munī* should be taken as an analogical formation after *guṇī.*

16. It may be taken as an analogical formation after *guṇī.* (MC.). or it may be PL. used for the SG. But considering the fact that NIA *dahi* is FM. in Punjabi and Sindhi and MC. only in Hindi it is more likely that MIA *dahī* follows the analogy of OIA *nadī.*

Gen. Sg. (i) Dialectally, *-nas* (after the analogy of *guṇinaḥ* or *vāriṇaḥ*): Pkt. *aggiṇo* <**agninaḥ*. (ii) *-sya* (after the *a*-stem): N *palp'i(ya)sa* <**baliṣya*; P *aggissa*. (iii) *-bhyas* (extented from Abl.), or *-saḥ* (extended from the *as*-stem): Ap. *aggihe*.

Loc. Sg. (i) *-smin* (pronominal): P *aggimhi, aggismin,* Pkt. *aggimmi,* Amg. *aggiṃsi* <**agniṣmin*. (ii) Dialectally, **-bhim*: Ap. *aggihĩ*.

Nom. Pl. (mc.). (i) sg. for pl.: A (D, J) *nati,* (D) *-panati* <(*pra*)*naptṛ-*; N *khi*. (ii) *-as*: P *aggayo,* Pkt. *aggao, aggau* <*agnayaḥ*. (iii) *-nas* (from the *in*-stem): Pkt. *aggiṇo* <**agninaḥ*. (iv) Contamination: Pkt. *aggīo* <*aggī+aggayo; risīyo*. (v) *-sas* (from the *as*-stem): Ap. *aggiho* (occurring as Voc. only).[17]

Acc. Pl. (mc.). (i) Nom. for Acc.: N *khiyi*; P *aggayo*; Pkt. *aggao*. (ii) *-īn*: P *aggī* <*agnīn*.

Nom.-Acc. Pl. (nt.). (i) *-īni*: Khar. D *athini* <*asthīni*; P *akkhīni* <*akṣīṇi*; Pkt. *dahīṇi* <*dadhīni*. (ii) *-ī* (Vedic), P *akkhī*; Pkt. *dahī*. (iii) Dialectally (in the literary Prakrits only), *-ī + ĩm*: Pkt. *dahīiṃ,* Mah., Ap. *dahiĩ*.

Instr. Pl. (i) *-bhis* (*-*bhim*): A (T) *lājīhi* <**rājibhiḥ* =*rājabhiḥ*; Khar. D *ñatihi,* P *ñātibhi=jñātibhiḥ*; P *aggīhi,* Pkt. *aggīhi*(*ṃ*), Ap. *aggihi, aggihĩ* <*agnibhiḥ,* **agnibhim*.

Abl. Pl. (i) Instr. for Abl.: P *aggīhi*. (ii) **-bhim + -tas*: Pkt. *aggīhiṃto*. (iii) *-*sum + -tas* (according to the old grammarians): *aggīsuṃto*. (iv) *-*sum* (Loc. pl.) or *-*bhyam*: Ap. *aggihũ*.

Gen. Pl. (i) *-nām*: A (S, M) *ñatina*(*ṃ*), (G) *ñātīnaṃ* (K) *nātinam,* P *ñātīnaṃ* <*jñātīnām*; Pkt. *aggīṇa*(*ṃ*). (ii) Dialectally, *-sām* (pronominal): Ap. *aggihã* <**agnīṣām*. (iii) Dialectally, sg. for pl.: Ap. *aggīhu* <**agnisaḥ*.

17. *-ho* may be a vocative particle. See §59.

Loc. Pl. (i) -*su*: A (G) *ñātīsu*, (K, D, J, T etc.) *nātīsu*;[18] P, Pkt. *aggīsu*. (ii) -**suṃ*: Pkt. *aggīsuṃ*. (iii) Instr. for Loc.: Ap. *aggihĩ* <**agnibhim*.

The declension *sakhi*- (Mc.) in P follows the analogy of the *tar*-stem in the strong forms: *sakhā* (Nom. sg.), *sakhāraṃ* (Acc. sg.), *sakhāro* (Nom. pl.). The Nom. pl. base *sakhāra*- appears in *sakhārasmā* (Abl. sg.). In the other forms the pattern of the *in*-declension is followed; e.g. *sakhinā* (Instr. sg.) and *sakhino* (Gen. sg.) Pkt. *sahī* (Nom sg.) is an extension of fm. *sahī* <*sakhī*.

5. *The i- (ī-) Declension (Feminine)*

§62. The declension of the Fm. *i*- and *ī*- stems follows the same pattern as given below.

Nom. sg. (i) -*s*: A (S) *vaḍhi*, (M) *vadhri* (=*vardhi*), (G, K) *vadhi* <*vṛddhiḥ*; A (K, D, J) *asaṃpaṭipati* (G) *asaṃpratipati* <-*pattiḥ*; Khar. D *satuṭhi* <*santuṣṭiḥ*; *hiri* <*hrīḥ*; P *jāti*, Pkt. *jā* (*d*) *i* <*jātiḥ*. (ii) nil (with the transference of the *i*-stem to -*ī*): A (T etc.) *dhāti* <*dhātrī*. (G) *vadhī*; <**vṛddhī*; Nagar. *mahādānapatini*; N *uṭi* <**uṣṭrī*; Khar. D *nadi*, P *nadī*, Pkt. *ṇa* (*d*) *ī*, Ap. *ṇaī* <*nādī*.

Acc. Sg. -*m* (with dialectal loss of the ending): A (G) *chātiṃ*, (S) *chaṃti*, (K) *khaṃti* <*kṣāntim*; A (M) *kiṭi*, (D, J) *kitī* <*kīrtim*, **kīrtīm*; A (D) *vadhī* <*vṛddhim*; N uṭi <**uṣṭrīm*; Khar. D *rati* <*rātrim*; P. *jātiṃ*, Pkt. *jā* (*d*) *iṃ*; Ap. *mia-loaṇi* <**mṛgalocanīm*; etc.

Instr. Sg. (i) *ā*: A (G) *dhaṃmānusasṭiyā*, (D, J) -*anusathiyā*, (S) -*anuśastiya* <*anuśāstyā*; A (T) -*vaḍhiyā*, (K) *vadhiya*[19] *vṛddhyā*; A (D) *anāvūtiya*[19] <*anāvṛttyā*; A (G, K, S, M) -*bhatiyā* <*bhaktyā*; Nagar. *nattiya*=*naptryā*; P *itthīā* <*striyā*; *jaccā*, *jātiyā* <*jātyā*; Pkt. *buddhīā*, *buddhīa*;[19] Ap.

18. The long vowel perhaps indicates the influence of the Nom. Sg. of the *in*- stem.

19. The shortening of final -*ā* may be dialectal; or it may be the ending as in the gerund *āgatya*, or it may be an orthographical error.

buddhia, buddhī <*buddhyā*. (ii) *-ena* (by transference to the *a*-stem; cf. RV *dhāsinā* and *nābhinā;* VS, ŚB *pretinā*): N *prītiyena*=*prītyā;* Ap. *visaa-visuddhẽ*=*viśuddhyā*. (iii) *-yai* (extended from the DAT.): A (J) *anāvutiye*=*anāvr̥ttyā;* N *uṭiae* <**uṣṭriyai*=*uṣṭyā*); Pkt. *buddhīe, buddhīi* <*buddhyai*.

DAT. SG. (i) *-yai*: A (D) *dhaṃmānusathiye*, (S, M) *-śastiye* <*dharmānuśastyai;* A (T) *dhātiye* <*dhātryai;* A (D, S) *dhaṃmānuvadhiye* <*vr̥ddhyai.*[19] (ii) *-as* (extended from the GEN., cf. *ávyaḥ* RV,[20] *śriyaḥ*): A (G) *dhaṃmānusasṭiya* <**śastyaḥ;* A (M) *dhramavadhriya* <**-vr̥ddhyaḥ* (or *-vr̥ddhyāḥ*). (iii) *-ās* (extended from GEN.): A (K) *dhaṃamānusathiyā* <*-śastyāḥ;* A (M) *dhrama-vadhriya* <*-vr̥ddhyāḥ* or **-vr̥ddhyaḥ*. (iv) *-aye*: Khar. D *parihaṇa'e* (B 32) <*parihānaye*.

ABL. SG. (i) *-tas*: A (D) *ujenite* 'from Ujjayinī'; Ś *ujjaiṇīdo;* Amg. *nayarīu*. (ii) *-ā, as,* (extended from GEN.): A (K) *nivutiya,*[21] (S, M) *nivuṭiya*[21] <*nirvr̥tyāḥ, *-tyaḥ;* A (D) *niphatiyā*[21] <*niṣpattyāḥ;* Lucknow Mus. Jain Image Inscr. of Huvishka *śiśiniya* <**śiṣyinī-;* P *jatiyā*[22] <*jātyāḥ*. (iii) *-yai* (extended from GEN.): Pkt. *buddhie, buddhīi* <*buddhyai*. (iv) *-sas* (extended from the *as*-stem): Ap. *gorihe*=*gauryāḥ*.

GEN. SG. (i) *-yai* (extended from DAT.): A (kq) *kāluvākiye* 'of Kāluvākī', *devīye* <*devyaiḥ;* Nagar. *bhaginiya, mahādevīya;* N *uṭiae* <**uṣṭr̥yai;* Pkt. *buddhīe, buddhīi* <*buddhyai*. (ii) *-yas* (or *-*ya* from INSTR.): Khar. D *viśodhi'a* <*viśuddhyāḥ;* Nanaghat Inscr. *pahaviya*=*pr̥thiviyāḥ;* P *jātiya*=*jātiyāḥ;* Pkt. *buddhīā, buddhīā*. (iii) *-sas* (extended from the *a*-stem); *gorihe*=*gauryāḥ*.

LOC. SG. (i) *-yām* (with or without the loss of *-ṃ*): A (S, M) *ayatiya* <*āyatyām;* A (kq) *kosaṃbiya* 'at Kauśāmbī'; A (Mth) *tisiyaṃ,*[23] (Rdh, Rp) *tisyaṃ*[23] <**tiṣyām*=*tiṣyāyāṃ*

20. Always fm.; WACKERNAGEL iii § 75.
21. Construed with *āva* (=*yāvat*). G has *nisṭānāya* (=*niṣṭhānāya*); with *nivutiyā, niuṭiya* and *niphatiyā* it may be taken as DAT. -GEN.
22. It may however be INSTR. extended.
23. The anomaly of supposing an *-ī* stem may be conveniently avoided by taking these as ACC. of the *a-* stem; cf. D, J *tiseṇa*.

(T, Mi *tisāyam*); A (D) *tosaliyaṃ* 'at Tosalī'; A (D, J) *nitiyam* <*nīti-*; A (T, etc.) *puṃnamāsiyaṃ* <*pūrṇamāsī-*; P *jātiyaṃ*. (ii) *-yai* (extended from DAT. -GEN.): A (K, D, J) *āyatiye*=*āyatyām*; A (T, etc.) *cātuṃmāsiye* <*cāturmāsī*; N *uṭiae*; Pkt. *buddhīe*, *buddhīi*. (iii) *-yā* (extended from INSTR.) or *-yās* (extended from ABL.-GEN.): P. *jātiya*; Pkt. *buddhīa*. (iv) nil (inherited or Sanskritism): Pkt. *rāo* <*rātrau*; (v) *-smin* (by transfer to the *a*-stem): N *ratraṃmi* 'at night'.

NOM. PL. (i) *-as*: A (G) *aṭaviyo* <*aṭavī-*; A (K) *abakajaniyo* <*arbhakajanī-*; A (bh) *bhikhuniye* <**bhikṣuṇyaḥ*; Nanaghat *kubhiyo rūpāmayiyo*; P *jātiyo*; Pkt. *ṇa(d)īo*, Ap. *naīu* <*nadyaḥ*; Amg. *itthio* <*strī-*; Ap. *vuttau* <*uktayaḥ*. (ii) *-s* (NOM. as Vedic *devīḥ*, or extended from ACC. *nadīḥ*): A (S, M) *aṭavi* <**aṭavīḥ*; A (D) *itthī* <*strī*: N *uṭi*; P *jātī*, *rattī* <*rātrī-*; Mah. *asaī* <*asatī-*. (iii) *-āni* (from NT. of the *-a* stem): N *vaḍ'aviyani* (212)=*vaḍavāḥ*.

ACC. PL. (i) *-s*: P, Pkt., Ap. as NOM. (ii) above. (iii) *-as* (extended from the NOM. or ACC. as in Vedic *vṛkyàh*): Khar. D *sava-dugatiyo* <*durgatayaḥ cutiu*=*cyutīḥ*; P, Pkt. Ap. as NOM. (i) above.

INSTR.-ABL. PL. (i) *-bhis*: Nagar. *mahātalavarihi*; P *jātīhi*; Pkt. *diṭṭhīhi*. (ii) *-*bhim*: Pkt. *diṭṭīhiṃ*, Ap. *diṭṭhihi*. (iii) *-ebhis* (extended from the *a*-stem): Ap. *ghariṇiehi* <**ghariṇī-*.

GEN. PL. *-nām*: A *devinaṃ* <*devī-*; Nanaghat *gāvīnaṃ*; Khar. D *narethina* <*narastrīṇām*; N *striyana*=*strīṇām*; Pkt. *sahīṇa(ṃ)* <*sakhī*.

LOC. PL. (i) *-su*: A *cātuṃmāsīsu*; N *uṭieṣu* <*uṣṭrī-*; P *jātīsu*, Pkt. *ṇa(d)īsu*, *ṇa(d)isu*. (ii) *-*sum*: Pkt. *ṇa(d)īsum* (iii) *-*bhim*; Ap. *diṭṭhihī*.

VOC. PL. BS. *devīho*.

6. THE *u*-(*ū*-) DECLENSIONS.

§63. As in OIA the *-u*, *-ū* declension in MIA closely follows the pattern of the *-i*, *-ī* declension.

SG.: NOM. (a) MC. -*s*: A *sādhū*, *bhikhu*; Khar. D *bhikhu*, *baho*[24] <*bahuḥ*; N *bhich'u*; P *bhikkhu*, *abhibhū* <**abhibhūḥ*; Pkt. *vāu* <*vāyuḥ*. (b) FM. -*s*. (or nil): P *dhenu*, *sassū* <*svaśrūḥ*; Pkt. *vahū* <*vadhūḥ*. NOM.-ACC. NT. (i) nil; A *bahu*, *vastu*; P *bahu*; Khar. D *baho* (A 310), *hetu*; N *masu* <*madhu*, *tanu* <*tanūḥ*; Pkt. *mahū*. (ii) -*m* (analogical): P *bahuṃ*, Pkt. *mahu*(*ṃ*). ACC. MC. (FM.). (i) -*m*: P *bhikkhuṃ*, Pkt. *vāuṃ*; Ap. *bāha*(*ṃ*). (ii) -*nam* (analogical): P. *bhikkhunaṃ*. INSTR. MC. NT. (i) -*nā*: Khar. D *prabhaguna* <**prabhaṅgunā*; P *bhikkhunā*; Pkt. *vāuṇa*. (ii) -*ena*(*m*) (analogical): N *masuv'ena* <*madhu*+*ena*, *hetuv'ena*; Ap. *vāū̃*. INSTR.-DAT.-ABL.-GEN.-LOC. FM. (i) -*yā*(*s*): P *dhenuyā*; Pkt. *vahūā* <*vadhvā*(*h*). (ii) -*yas*, -*yās*: Pkt. *vahūa*. (iii) -*yai*: Pkt. *vahūe*; Ap. *bahūi*. ABL. MC. NT. (i) -*tas*: A *hetuto*, *hetute*; Pkt. *vāūo*, *vāūe*. (ii) -*smāt* (*analogical*): P *bhikkhumhā*, *bhikkhusmā*. (iii) -*sas*: Ap. *vāuhe*. GEN. MC. NT. (i) -*nas* (analogical): Khar. D *bhikhuno*, *macuno* <*mṛtyu*-; P *bhikkhuno*; Pkt. *vāuṇo*, -*no* was treated as archaic in Nagar., cf. *savaṃñuno* but *ikkākusa*. (ii) -*sya*: N *bhich'usya*, *paśusa*, *masusa* (also *masusya*), P *bhikkhussa*; Pkt. *vāussa*. LOC. MC. NT. (i) -*smin*: N *masuaṃmi* <*madhu*+*smin*; P *bhikkhumhi*, *bhikkhusmiṃ*; Amg. *vāuṃsi*; Pkt. *vāummi*. (ii) -*nas* (extended from the ABL.-GEN.): A (T etc.) *punāvasune* <*punarvasu*-; A (T) *buhune* (*janasi*) <*bahu*-. LOC. FM. -*yām*: P *dhenuyam* <*dhenū*-. PL.: NOM.-ACC. MC. (FM.) (i) -*as*: Khar. D *bhikṣavi* (voc.) <*bhikṣavaḥ*; N *bahuv'e*. *bahuv'i*, *paśava* (Sanskritism); P *bhikkhavo*, *bhikkhave* (voc.); Pkt. *vāa*(*v*)*o*; Ap. *vāau*. (ii) -*nas* (analogical): N *pasúna* (725); P *bhikkhuno*; Pkt. *vāuṇo*. (iii) -*ūn* (extended from ACC.): N *paśu*[25] <*paśūn*, *bahu*; P *bhikkhū*; Pkt. *pasū*. NOM.-ACC. NT. (i) -*ū* (Vedic) P *assū* <*aśru*-; Pkt. *mahū*, *leṇū* <*reṇu*-, *sāhū* <*sādhu*- (NT. extended to MC.); etc. (ii) -*ūni*: A *bahūni*, Khar. D *prabhaguni* <**prabhaṅgūnī*; P *assūni*, Pkt. *mahūṇi*. (iii) -*ū* + *īm*: Pkt. *mahūiṃ*; Ap. *mahūĩ*. NOM.-ACC. FM. (i)

24. *druśilo hi baho jano* (Cro. 31); *baho jano*, however, may be a compound; cf. *bahojagaru* (A 3 15), *bahosukena* (B 24).

25. It can also be taken as SG. for PL. BURROW §71.

-*as* (originally Nom. only): P *dhenuyo*; Pkt. *vahūo*; Ap. *vahūu*; etc. (ii) -*us* (originally Acc. only): P *dhenū*. Instr. (i) -*bhis*: A *bahūhi*; P *bhikkhūhi*; Pkt. *vāūhi*. (ii) *-*bhiṃ*: Pkt. *vāūhiṃ*. Abl. (i) -*bhis*: P *bhikkhūhi*; Pkt. *vāūhi*. (ii) -**bhim*: Pkt. *vāūhiṃ*. (iii) -*bhim* + -*tas*: Pkt. *vāūhiṃto* (iv) -**sum*: Ap. *vāuhũ*. Gen. (i) -*nām*: A (G) *gurūṇāṃ*, (S, M) *guruṇa*(*ṃ*), (K) *gulunā*,[26] (D, J) *gulūnaṃ*; P *bhikkhūnaṃ*; Pkt. *vāūṇa*(*ṃ*), *vāuṇā*.[26] (ii) -*ānām* (from the -*a* stem): N *paśuvana*, *vasu*(*v'*)*ana* <*vasu* + *ānām*. (iii) -*sām*: Ap *vāuhã*. (iv) -**sum*: *vāuhũ*. Loc. (i) -*su*: A (D, J, T etc.) *bahūsu*, (T) *gulusu* <*guru*-; P *bhikkhūsu*; Pkt. *vāūsu*. (ii) -*eṣu* (from the *a*- stem): N *paśuveṣu*. (iii) -**sum*: Pkt. *vāūsuṃ*. (iv) -**bhim*: Ap. vāuhĩ.

7. The ṛ-Declensions

§64. The -*ṛ* stems in MIA are almost exclusively confined to the relation words *pitṛ*-, *mātṛ*-, *bhrātṛ*-, *duhitṛ*-, *svasṛ*-, *naptṛ*-, *jāmātṛ*- and *bhartṛ*- (which though not a relation word in OIA have become as such, meaning 'husband', 'master'). In early MIA there is sporadic occurrence of agent nouns in -*tar*; e.g. A (T) *nijhapayitā* (<*nidhyāpayitā*) and P *satthā*(*ra*)- (<*śāstṛ*-).

The -*ṛ* declension in MIA, which has no nt., includes diverse forms which can be classified under the following five groups: (a) forms inherited from OIA, (b) -*u* stem forms (derived from Gen. sg. *pituḥ*, *mātuḥ*, etc.), (c) -*i* stem forms (derived from the base occurring as the first members of compounds like *pitṛṣvasā*, etc.),[27] (d) -*a* stem forms (based on Acc. sg. *pitaraṃ*, *mātaraṃ*, etc.), (e) -*ā* stem forms (based on Nom. sg. *pitā*, *mātā*, etc.) and (f) Indo-Iranian survivals not recorded in OIA. These are indicated group by group as follows.

Sg. Nom. (a) A, P *pitā*, *mātā*, *bh*(*r*)*ātā*; N *pita*, *bhrata*; P *dhītā* = *duhitā*, *jāmātā*; Pkt. *pi*(*d*)*ā*, *mā*(*d*)*ā*, *bhā*(*d*)*ā*,

26. These forms, if not Sanskritism, presuppose an early loss of -*m*, before the shortening of the preceding -*ā*.

27. In Buddhistic Sanskrit the stem *pitari*- also occurs.

dhī(d)ā and *dhū(d)ā, jāmā(d)ā;* Ś *duhidā* (Sanskritism); Amg. *sasā* <*svasā;* P, Pkt. *satthā* <*śāstā;* Pkt. *bhattā, bhaṭṭā* <*bhartā;* A (T) *apahaṭā, apahatā* <*aprahartā;* A (T) *nijhapayitā* <*nidhyāpayitā.* (b) N *pitu, bhratu, madu.* (c) Ap. *māī* <*mātṛ-* or *matṛkā.* (d) N *bhaṭare;* P *jāmāto* <*jāmātā-* (transferred to the -a stem): Pkt. *piaro, bhattāro, bhaṭṭāro.* Acc. (a) P *pitaraṃ, mātaraṃ, dhītaraṃ, satthāraṃ;* Pkt. *pi(d)araṃ, pidaru* (Mṛcchakaṭika), *mā(d)araṃ, bhattāram, bhaṭṭāram;* Ś *duhidaram* (Sanskritism); Amg. *dhīyaraṃ.* (b) N *pitu, madu, bhratu;* P *pituṃ;* etc. (d) N *bhaṭare.* (e) N[28] *pita, bhrata;* Pkt. *dhūaṃ* = *duhitaraṃ;* Mah. *māaṃ* <**mātām.* INSTR. (a) A (G) *pitā* <*pitrā, bhat(r)ā.* (b) A (S, M) *pitina, bhratuna;* Kalawan Cop.-pl. *bhraduṇa;* Nasik Cave *mātuya,* P *dhītuya, satthunā;* Pkt. *pi(d)uṇā, jāmāduṇā, bhattū* (GEN. for INSTR.): Kalawan Cop.-pl. *dhituṇa* = *duhitrā;* Kharavela (Manchapuri) *dhu[tu]nā.* (c) A (K, D, J) *pitinā, bhatinā;* Pkt. *bhaṭṭiṇā.* (d) P *pitarā, mātarā;*[29] Pkt. *piareṇa.* (e) Pkt. *mā(d)āe, dhūāe, dhūaī.* ABL. SG. (a) or (d) P *pitarā, matarā* (see INSTR.). (b) P *mātuyā.* (e) Pkt. *mā(d)āe, dhūāe, dhūāi;* etc. GEN. (a) A (kq) *tīvala-mātu* 'of Tīvala's mother' (used as DAT.); N *dhitu, śvasu;* Taxt-i- Bahi *madu-pitu,* Taxila Silver Scroll *matipitu;* Nasik Cave *dīhitu* = *duhituḥ;* P *pitu, mātu, duhitu;* Pkt. *bhattū.* (b) N *pitusya, madue, maduae, priyaśpasuae* <**priyasvasṛ-* + *ai, dhitue;* Nagarjuni *pituno, bhatuno, jāmātukasa* (<*jāmātu-* + *-ka-*), *bhatuno, bhātuno, mātuya, dhūtuya, dhutuya;* Bhaṭṭiprolu Casket *pituṇo; Nasik Cave mātuya; P pituno, pitussa, mātuyā;* Pkt. *pi(d)uṇo, piussa, māūe, bhattuṇo, jāmāduṇo.* (c) Pkt. *bhaṭṭiṇo.* (d) Amg. *piyarassa;* Pkt. *bhaṭṭārassa;* Ap. *piyaraha* <**pitarasa.* (e) P *mātāya, dhītāya;* Pkt. *mā(d)āe, dhūāe, dhūāi.* (f) Wardak Bronze Vase *madapitara* <**pitraḥ* (cf. OP *pissa*), *bhradara* <**bhrātraḥ* (cf. Av. *braθro*); N *priyabhratre* (159). Loc. (a) A (G) *pitari, mātari,;* P *pitari, mātari, bhātari;* Ś *bhattari* (Sanskritism). (b) P *mātuyā, mātuyaṃ;* Pkt. *māūe.* (d) Pkt. *bhattāre.*

28. The forms may be Acc; <**pitām* or may be NOM. used for acc.

29. These may as well be inherited INSTR. with the anaptyctic vowel *-a-*; cf. Nasik cave inscr. *jāmatrā, jāmātarā.*

PL. NOM. (a) A (S) *nataro*, (M) *natare*, (K) *natāle* <*naptāraḥ*; N *pitara, bhatara, bhratare*; P *pitaro, mātaro*; Pkt. *pi(d)aro, māaro, bhāyaro, bhattāro*. (b) P *bhātuno*; Pkt. *piuṇo, bhattu* (Acc. for NOM.).[30] (c) A (D, J) *nati* (Acc. for NOM.),[30] (D) *nati-panati* (Acc. for NOM.).[30] <*naptṛ-praṇaptṛ-*; Amg. *piī* (Acc. for NOM.).[30] (d) Pkt. *bhāyarā*; N *bhaṭare*.[31] (e) P *dhītā*; Pkt. *bhaṭṭā*; Amg. *bhattā, dhūyāo*. ACC. (a) P *pitare*, Pkt. *pi(d)are*. (d) N *bhaṭare*. (e) P *bhāte*. Extended from NOM.: (a) P *pitaro, nattāro*; Pkt. *pi(d)aro*. (b) P *mātāpitū*; Pkt. *piuṇo, bhattū*. INSTR. (b) P *pitūhi, mātūhi, satthūhi*; Pkt. *piūhiṃ*. (c) Sarnath Image inscr. of Kaniṣka *mātāpitihi*; Amg. *piīhim, māīhiṃ*. (d) N *putradhīdarehi* (450); P *nattārehi, satthārehi*; Pkt. *piarehiṃ, bhattārehiṃ*; Amg. *dhūyarehim*. (e) P *dhītāhi*;[32] Amg. *māyāhiṃ, dhūāhi*. GEN. (b) A (S) *bhratunaṃ*, (S, M) *spasuna(ṃ)* = *svasṛ-*; Nagarjuni *bhātunaṃ*; N *bhratuana*; P *pitṛūnaṃ, mātūnaṃ, satthūraṃ*; Pkt. *pitūṇam*. (c) A (K) *bhātinaṃ*; Amg. *piīṇaṃ, māīṇa(ṃ)*. (d) N *bhratarana, bhrataraṇaṃ* (Sanskritism); Ārā Stone Inscr. *matara-pitaraṇa*; P *pitarānaṃ, satthārānaṃ*. (e) A (M) *bhatana*; P *dhītānaṃ*;[33] Pkt. *dhū(d)āṇaṃ*. LOC. (b) A (S, M) *matapituṣu*; P *pitūsu, mātūsu, satthūsu*; Pkt. *piūsuṃ*. (c) A (K, D, T, br., jtr.) *mātā-pitisu*. (d) P *pitaresu, satthāresu*; Pkt. *bhattāresu*. (e) P *dhītarāsu*.[33]

8. THE DIPHTHONGAL DECLENSIONS

§65. (a) The stem *go-* (i) has retained some OIA forms but more usual are the forms from the extended stems; (ii) *gava-* (MC.), *gāvī-* (FM.), and (iii) *goṇa-* (MC.), *goṇī* (FM.).[34] The forms that occur are as follows:

30. Or SG. for PL.
31. From SG. *bhartāraḥ or PL. *bhartāraḥ*
32. Late occurrence.
33. Late occurrence.
34. Patanjali recognises this stem as one of the synonyms of *go-* in the peoples' tongue (*apabhraṃśa-*). *guṇa-* (originally meaning 'cowhide thong'?) is a weak grade derivative of **goṇa-*.

SG. NOM. (i) N *go*, P *go*, Amg. *go* <*gauḥ*. (ii) Amg. *gave* <**gavaḥ*; Pkt. *gā(v)ī*. (iii) A (T, etc.) *gone*, P *gono*, Pkt. *goṇo* <**goṇaḥ*; Pkt. *goṇī*. ACC. (iv) P *gonaṃ*. ABL. (i) or (ii) P *gavā* <**gavā* (extension of INSTR.) or **gavāt*. GEN. (ii) P *gavassa*. (iii) A (T, etc.) *gonasa, gonasā*. LOC. (ii) P *gave*.

PL.: NOM. (i) Nana, P *gāvo*, Amg. *gāo* <*gāvaḥ*. (ii) Amg. *-gavā*. ACC. (i) extended from NOM. P *gāvo*, Amg. *gāo*. (ii) N *gavi* <**gāvīḥ* or NOM.-ACC. SG. **gāvī(m)*. (iii) P *gone*, Pkt. *goṇāīṃ*. INSTR. (i) P *gohi*, Amg. *gohiṃ* <*gobhiḥ*. GEN. (i) P *gavaṃ*, Amg. *gavaṃ* <*gavām*; P *gonaṃ* (>*gunnaṃ*) <*gonām*. (iii) P *gonānaṃ* <**gonānām*. (iv) Nanaghat *gāvīnaṃ*.

(b) The stem *nau-* apparently retains no OIA inherited inflected form;[35] all the available forms are based on the extended stem *nāvā-*:

SG.: NOM. Pkt. *ṇāvā*. ACC. *nāvaṃ*.[35] INSTR.-DAT.-ABL.-GEN.-LOC. SG. P *nāvāya*, P *nāvāe* <**nāvāyā* and/or **nāvāyaḥ* and/or **nāvāyam*, **nāvāyai*; cf. RV *nāváyā* (1.97.8). PL.: NOM. P *nāvāyo*. INSTR. Amg. *nāvāhi*. LOC. P *nāvāsu*.

9. CONSONANTAL DECLENSIONS: MUTATIONS AND REMNANTS

§66. The radical *-c, -d, -ś* stems and the derivative stems in *-at, -it, -ut, -as, -mas, -yas, -vas, -is* and *-us* are entirely brought over to the vowel declension by either adding *-a* (or *-ā* if fm.) or by dropping the final consonant. Inherited forms survive sporadically, mostly as Sanskritisms.

(a) *vāc-*: P *vācā-*, Pkt. *vāā-*, Amg. *vāī* (<**vācī-*), Ap. *vāā-*; *vāa-*; e.g. Khar. D *vayaï* (<*vācayā* = *vācā*), Ap. *vāahi* = *vāgbhiḥ*. Inherited forms: P *vācā*, Pkt. *vācāha*; P *tacā-*, Amg. *tayā-* (<*tvac-*). Cf. Pkt. *chāī* <*chāyā*.

(b) *pariṣad-*: A *parisā-* (*palisā, pariṣā-*), P *parisā-*, *sampad-*: Pkt. *sampaā-*, Ap. *saṃpaī*. *śarad-*: N *śarata-* (e.g.

35. Khar. D *nama* may indicate an original *nāvam* or **nāvām*.

saratammmi= *śaradi*). Inherited form: P *padā* (INSTR. SG. <*pad-*), *dvipadam* (GEN. PL.), *sarado* (ACC. PL.), *saritaṃ* (GEN. PL.).

(c) *diś-*: A (K) *diṣā-*; P *disā-*; Pkt. *disā-*, *disi-*. Inherited forms: Khar. D *diśo-diśa* (ABL. SG. or ACC. PL.), P *diso* (ABL. SG.), Pkt. *disi* (LOC. SG.).

(d) *jagat-*:[36] Pkt. *ja(g)a-*[37] BS. *jagi* (LOC. SG.).

(e) *sarit-*: P *saritā*, Pkt. *sariā-*, Ap. *sari-* (e.g. *sarihĩ* = *saridbhiḥ*).

(f) *marut-*: Pkt. *maru-*.

(g) *śarad-*: Pkt. *saraa-* as in *saraassa* (GEN. SG.).

(h) The inherited (i) and the derived (ii) forms of the *-as* declension are given below.

SG.: NOM.-ACC. NT. (i) A (G, K, D, J) *yaso*, (S, M) *yaśo*; P *mano*, *siro*; Pkt. *maṇo*, Ap. *maṇu*; *ta(v)u* <*tapaḥ*. (ii) P *siraṃ*, Pkt. *maṇaṃ*. NOM. MC. (i) Amg. *dummaṇā*; Ś. *duvvāsā* 'Durvāsas'. (ii) Khar. D *sumedhasu* <*-medhas-*; P *dummano*, *-cetaso*; Amg. *vimaṇo*=*vimanāḥ*, *uggatave*=*ugratapāḥ*. ACC. MC. (ii) Pkt. *dummaṇaṃ*. INSTR. (i) Khar. D *teyasa* <*tejasā*; P *manasā*; Amg. *maṇasā*; Ś *tavasā*. (ii) Khar. D *manena*; N *śirasa*; P *tapena*; Mah. *maṇeṇa*; Amg. *sireṇaṃ*. ABL. (ii) Amg. *tamao*, *tamāo*; Mah. *sirāhi*. GEN. (i) P *manaso*. (ii) P *manassa*; Pkt. *jasassa*; Ap. *jasaha*.[38] LOC. (i) P. *manasi*; P. Amg. *urasi*; Mg. *śilaśi*. (ii) N *manasaṃmi*; P *mane*, *urasmiṃ*; P, Pkt. *ure*; Amg. *uraṃsi*; Mah. *urammi*; Ap. *maṇi*.

PL.: NOM.-ACC. NT. (ii) P *sotā(ni)*,[39] *sote*[40]=*srotāṃsi*; Amg. *sarā(ṇi)*, *sarāṃsi*. NOM. MC. (ii) P *attamanā*,[41] *attamanasā*=*āttamanasaḥ*; Amg. *ahosirā*[41]=*adhaḥśirasaḥ*; Ap. *āsattamana*. ACC. MC. (ii) P *muditamane*. INSTR. (ii) P

36. Originally present participle.
37. Cf. Kauṣītakī Upaniṣad *jagāni* = *jaganti*.
38. Or inherited <*yaśasaḥ*.
39. NOM. only.
40. ACC. only.
41. Or SG. for PL.

sotehi, *sirehi*; Pkt. *sirehi*(*ṃ*). GEN. (ii) P *sotānaṃ*; Mah. *sarāṇaṃ*=*sarasām*. LOC. PL. (ii) Amg. *saresu*=*sarahsu*.

(h) The declension of *-mas*, *-yas* and *-vas* stems is indicated below.

SG.: NOM.-ACC. NT. (i) A (S, M, K, D, T) *bhuye*, (G) *bhuya*, P *bhiyyo* <*bhūyaḥ*; Khar. D. *ṣeho*, *seha*; P *seyyo* <*śreyaḥ*. (ii) P *seyyaṃ*; Ś *baliaṃ*=*balīyaḥ*. NOM. MC. (i) P *candimā*, *avidvā* <*avidvān*, *bhaya-dassivā* <*-*darśivas-*[42] (cf. Mbh. *pratyakṣa-darśivān*); Khar. D *bhaya-dassima* <**darśimas-*,[42] Amg. *seyaṃse* <*śreyāṃsah* (Pl. for Sg.). (ii) Khar. D *candrimu*=*candramāḥ*; P *aviddasu* <**avidvaṣu-*; Mah. *viuso*. ACC. MC. (ii) P *seyyaṃ*. INSTR. (i) Amg. *viusā*. DAT. (i) A (bh., sd. jtr.) *dīhgāyuse*.[43] GEN. (ii) P *aviddasuno*.

PL.: NOM. MC. (i) P *seyyāse* <**śreyāsaḥ*, *seyyā* <**śreya-*. (ii) P *aviddasū*, *aviddasuno*. NOM. NT. (iii) *seyyāni*.

(i) Outside the sporadic (1) OIA relics the *-is* and *-us* stems are mostly reduced to (2) *-i*, *-u* stems and rarely to (3) the *-a* stem.

SG.: NOM.-ACC. NT. (1) or (2) Khar. D *ayo*, *ayu* <*āyuḥ*; P *āyu*, *sappi*; Pkt. *cakkhu*. (2) P *sappiṃ*, *āyuṃ*; Pkt. *dhaṇum*, *cakkhuṃ*, *haviṃ*; Amg. *joiṃ*, *joī*, *āuṃ*. (3) Mah. *dhaṇuham* <**dhanuṣa-*. NOM. MC. (3) Ś *dīhāuso* <**dīrghāyuṣa-*. ACC. MC. (2) Pkt. *dīhāuṃ* <**dīrghāyu-*. INSTR. (1) Amg. *cakkhusā*. (2) P *sappinā*, *acciyā* (FM. =*arciṣā*), *cakkhunā*; Amg. *joiṇā*=*jyotiṣā*, *accīe* (FM.); Pkt. *dīhāuṇā*. (3) N *dhanuena*. ABL. (2) P *sapphimhā*. GEN. (1) Ś *āuso*; Mah. *dhaṇuho*. (2) P *sappissa*, *āyussa*, *cakkhuno*, Amg. *āussa*, *cakkhussa*. LOC. (2) P *cakkhumhi*, *cakkhusmiṃ*; Mah. *āummi*, *cakkhuṃmi* (3) Mah. *dhaṇuhe*.

PL.: NOM.-ACC. NT. (2) P (late) *cakkhūni*; Amg. *cakkhū*; Pkt. *cakkhūim*. NOM. MC. (2) Amg. *aṇāū*=*anāyuṣaḥ*. INSTR.

42. Or <-**darśivant-*, -**darśimant-*.
43. Also *digghāyuse*; it may be LOC. SG. of *-āyuṣa-*,

(2) P *cakkhūhi;* Pkt. *dhanūhiṃ.* GEN. (1) Amg. *joisaṃ* <*jyotiṣām.*

(j) The stem *pumas-* (MC.) becomes *puma-*. The forms, (i) inherited and (ii) newly formed, that occur are as follows.

NOM. SG. (i) *pumā,* Amg. *pumaṃ* <*pumān.* (ii) P *pumo;* Amg. *pume* <**pumaḥ.* ACC. SG. (ii) Amg. *pumaṃ.* NOM. PL. (ii) P *pumā* (SG. for PL. or <**puma-*).

§67. The *-an* stems, with the exception of *rājan-* and *ātman-*, are brought over to the *-a* declension. Thus:

SG.: NOM.-ACC. NT. (i) A *nāma, nāmā;* P. Pkt. *kamma, nāma;* N *śirṣa, bhuma.* (ii) A (S) *kramaṃ,* (K, D, J) *kaṃmaṃ,* (G, K, D, J) *kaṃme;* P, Pkt. *kammaṃ;* Pkt. *ṇāmaṃ, kamme;* Mah. *kammanaṃ* <**karmaṇa-*. NOM. MC. (i) P *sā* <*śvā; yuvā;* Pkt. *ju(v)ā, muddhā, addhā, ucchā* <*ukṣā.* (ii) N *śune* <**śuna-;* Pallava Inscr. *sivakhandavamo* 'Śivaskandavarman'; Amg. *akammo=akarmā;* Mah. *bambho,* Amg. *bambhe.* ACC. MC. (i) Khar. D *drighamadhvana* <*dīrgham adhvānaṃ,* P *addhānaṃ, brahmāṇam;* Amg. *muddhāṇam.* (ii) N *śune* (see NOM.); P *muddhaṃ, bamhaṃ;* Mg. *bamhaṃ;* Mah. *bambhaṃ, mahimaṃ=mahimānam, addham* (also FM. Amg.). INSTR. A (D, J) *kaṃmanā;* P *kammanā, kammunā,* (i) *brahmunā, addhunā, muddhanā;* Amg. *kammaṇā.* (ii) N *namena;* P *kammena; suṇena* <**śuna-;* Amg. *kammeṇaṃ, muddhena, muddhāṇenaṃ.* DAT. (i) A (D, J) *kaṃmane,* (M) *krammane.* (ii) A (G) *kaṃmāya,* (K) *kaṃmāye,*[44] (S) *kramaye;* N *kamaya.* ABL. (ii) Amg. *kammuṇāu,* GEN. (i) P *kammuno, brahmuno, addhuno;* Amg. *kammuṇo, kammaṇo.* (ii) A (D, J) *kammasa;* N *śirṣaasa, bhumasa;* Pallava Inscr. *bhaṭṭisammasa* 'of Bhaṭṭiśarman'; Ś *laddhaṇāmassa=labdhanāmnaḥ;* Amg. *bambhassa;* Mg. *kammāha;* Pkt. *kammassa.* LOC. (i) P *muddhani, brahmani, kammani;* Ś *kammaṇi;* Pkt. *muddhi* <*mūrdhni.* (ii) N *bhumaṃmi* <*bhūman-;* Amg. *muddhāṇaṃsi* <**mūrdhāna-, kammaṃsi;* Pkt. *kammammi, kamme.* VOC. (ii) P *bamhe=brahman.*

44. With FM. ending.

PL.: NOM.-ACC. NT. (i) A (T etc.) *kaṃmāni;* Khar. D *kamani;* P *kammāni;* Ś *kammāṇi;* Amg. *kammāiṃ.* (ii) Amg. *kammā.* NOM. MC. (ii) P *suvānā* <**śvāna-;* Amg. *-mudhāṇā, bambhā.* INSTR. (ii) P *kammehi, suvānehi;* Amg. *kammehiṃ.* GEN. (i) Amg. *kammuṇaṃ.* (ii) Amg. *kammāṇa(ṃ);* Ap. *kammāhā.* LOC. (i) Amg. *kammasu,* (ii) P, Pkt. *kammesu.*

§68. The stem *panthan-* (*panthā-, path-*) shows the following declensional forms which besides the few (i) historical forms are based on the bases (ii) *panthā* and (iii) *patha-.*

SG.: NOM. (ii) Pkt. *pantho.* (iii) P *patho.* Pkt. *paho.* ACC. P, Pkt. *panthaṃ* <*panthām* (RV) or **pantham,* (iii) Pkt. *pahaṃ.* INSTR. (iii) Pkt. *paheṇa(ṃ).* ABL. (ii) Pkt. *panthāo;* P *pathā.* GEN. (iii) P *pathassa.* LOC. (i) Khar. D *mahapathi.* (ii) P *panthasmiṃ;* Pkt. *panthe;* Ap. *panthi.* (iii) P *pathe;* Mah. *pahammi.*

PL.: NOM. (i) Amg. *panthā* <*panthāḥ* (RV), Mah. *panthāno.* GEN. (ii) Amg. *panthāṇaṃ.* LOC. (ii) A (G), Amg. *paṃthesu.*

§69. The declension of *rājan-* shows many (i) historical forms. The specific MIA forms presuppose three vowel stems, (ii) *rāja-,* (iii) *rāji-* and (iv) *rāju-.* The last two stems may have come from the heteroclitic base **rājar-* (cf. *ahan-: ahar-, ūdhan-: ūdhar-,* etc.) or they may have been modelled after *piti-, pitu-.*

SG.: NOM. (i) A (G) *rājā,* (S, M) *raja,* (S) *raya,* (K, D, J, etc.) *lājā;* (G) *yona-rājā,* (S, M) *-raja* (K, D, J) *-lājā* =*yavanarājaḥ;* P *rājā,* Pkt. *rāā.* Pai. *rācā.* (ii) N *maharaya,* Pkt. *rāo.* ACC. (i) P *rājānaṃ.* (ii) Pkt. *rāaṃ.* INSTR. (i) A (G) *rāññā,* (S) *rañā;* P *raññā* (also Abl.); Pkt. *raṇṇā;* Pai. *raññā.* (ii) Pkt. *rāeṇa.* (iii) A (M) *rajina,*[45] (K, D, J) *lājinā;* P *rājinā;* Pkt. *rāiṇā;* Pai. *rāciñā.* GEN. (i) A (G) *rāño;* (S) *raño;* P, Pai. *rañño;* Pkt. *raṇṇo.* (ii) Amg. *rāyassa.* (iii) A (K, D, J) *lājine,* (su) *rājina;* P *rājino;* Pkt. *rāiṇo;* Pai. *rāciño.*

45. Also *lājina* (ru, ng.).

Loc. (ii) Pkt. *rāe.* (iii) P *lājini;* Nasik Cave *rājini;* Pkt. *rāimmi.*

PL.: NOM. (i) A (G) *rājāno,* (S) *rajano, rajani,* (M) *rajane,* (K) *lājāno,* (D, J, T) *lājāne;* P *rājāno;* Pkt. *rāāṇo.* (ii) Pkt. *rāā.* ACC. (i) P *rājāno,*[64] Pkt. *rāaṇo.*[46] (ii) Pkt. *rāā,*[46] *rāe.* INSTR. (ii) Pkt. *rāehiṃ.* (iii) A (T) *lājīhi,* Pkt. *rāīhiṃ.* (iv) P *rājūhi.* GEN. (i) P *raññaṃ.* (ii) Pkt. *rāāṇaṃ.* (iii) Pkt. *rāīṇaṃ.* (iv) P *rājūnaṃ.* LOC. (ii) Pkt. *rāesuṃ.* (iii) Pkt. *rāīsuṃ.* (iv) P *rājūsu.*

§70. The declension of *ātman-*[47] comprises, besides (i) the historical forms, forms based on the following extended stems: (ii) **ātma-*, (iii) **ātmaka-*, (iv) **ātmana-*, (v) **ātmanaka-*, (vi) **ātmāna-*, (vii) **ātmānaka-*, (viii) **ātā-* (FM.) and (ix) **ātāna-*. In Nagar. atano and apano (Gen. SG.) occur in the same document.

SG.: NOM. (i) A (bh, sd) *mahātpā;* P, Pkt. *attā;* Pkt. *appā.* (ii) N *mahatva;* Pkt. *appo.* (iii) Ap. *appaü.* (iv) Pkt. *appaṇo.* (vi) *appāṇo, attāṇo.* (viii) Jaina Ś *ādā,* Amg. *āyā.* (ix) Amg. *āyāṇe.* ACC. (i) A (D, J) *atānaṃ;* Khar. D *atmana;* P *attānaṃ, ātumānaṃ;* Pkt. *attāṇam, appāṇaṃ.* (ii) P *attaṃ,* Amg. *appaṃ.* (iii) Amg. *appayaṃ,* Ap. *appaũ.* (iv) Ap. *appaṇu.* (vii) Pkt. *attāṇaaṃ, appāṇaaṃ;* Ap. *appaṇaũ.* (ix) Amg. *āyāṇaṃ.* INSTR. (i) A (T etc.) *atanā,* (b) *mahataneva* (=*mahatanā*+*eva*); P *attanā;* Pkt. *appaṇā.* (ii) A (sd) *mahatpeneva* (=*mahatpena*+*eva*); Mah. *appeṇa*(*ṃ*). (iv) Mah. *appaṇeṇa,* Ap. *appaṇeṃ.* (vi) Amg. *appāṇeṇaṃ.* (viii) Amg. *āyāe* (FM.). ABL. (i) P *attanā* (see Instr.). (viii) Amg. *āyāo* <**ātātaḥ.* GEN. (i) A (D, J) *atane;* Khar. D *atmano;* P *attano;* Pkt. *attaṇo, appaṇo.* (ii) N *mahatvasa;* Ap. *appaho.* (iv) Ś *attanakeraka,*[48] Mg.+*kelaka.*[48] (iv) Pkt. *appāṇassa.* (vii) Pkt. *appāṇaassa,* Mg. *attāṇaaśśa.* LOC. (ii) Amg. *appe.* (vi) Mah. *appāṇe.*

46. Nom. for Acc.

47. *-tm-* > *-tt-* (East Central generally), *-pp-* (Western generally), and *-t-* (by contamination between *-tt-* and *-tv-*, in Jaina Pkt.)

48. Periphrastic.

Pl.: Nom. (i) P *attāno*, Pkt. *appano*. (ii) Khar. D. *anatma* <**anātmāḥ*=*anātmanaḥ*; Mah. *appā*. (vi) Pkt. *appāṇā*. (ix) Amg. *āyāṇā*.

§71. The *-in* (*-vin*, *-min*) declension can be called the only living consonantal declension in MIA. Confusion with the *-i* declension is inevitable but *-i* forms are not at all conspicuous at the early stage. The influence of the *-a* stem came early and that first in the North Western dialect group.

Sg.: Nom. mc. A *piyadasī*, *piyadasi* <*priyadarśī*. Khar. D *j'a'i* <*dhyāyī*, *śethi* <*śreṣṭhī*, *jitavi* <**jitāvī*=*jitavān*, *medhavi medhāvi*, *dhamayari* <*dharmacārī*; N *sac'hi* <*sākṣī*, *avaradhi* <*aparādhī*; P *hatthī*, *hatthi*; Pkt. *hatthī*. Acc. mc. (i) P *hatthinaṃ*. (ii) N *sach'i*; P, Pkt, *hatthiṃ*. Instr. A *piyadasinā*, *-dasiṇa*, (br, jtr) *antevāsinā*; P *hatthinā* (also Abl.). Dat. A (K, D, J) *piyadasine*, (M) *priyadraśine*; A (jtr) *antevāsine*.[49] Abl. (i) P *hatthina* (see Instr.). (iii) P *hatthimhā*. Gen. (i) A (G) *priyadasino*; Khar. D *dhamajivino*, *vridhavayarino* <*vṛddhopacāriṇaḥ*, *ṛativivasina* <*rātrivivāsinaḥ*; P. Pkt. *hatthino*. (iii) A (S, M) *pri(y)adraśisa*, (K) *piyadasisā*; Nagar. *gaṃdhahathisa* (*-hadhisa*); Khar. D *ekapananu'abisa* (Cro 16)=*ekaprāṇānukampinaḥ*;[50] P, Pkt. *hatthissa*. (iv) The stem form used for Gen. (as a short of loose compound): Khar. D *gehi*[51]=*gṛhiṇaḥ*; Ap. *atthi*[52]=*arthinaḥ* (Dat. Gen.). Loc. (i) P *hatthini*. (ii) P *hatthimhi*, *hastismiṃ*; Mah. *siharimmi*=*śikhariṇi*.

Pl.: Nom. mc. (i) Khar. D *anavehino* <*anapekṣiṇaḥ*; *drumedhino* <**durmedhinaḥ*; P, Pkt. *hatthino*. (ii) Nanaghat *hathī*; N *sach'i*; P, Pkt. *hatthī*; Pkt. *sāmī(o)*. Nom. nt. A (T, etc.). *āsīnavagāmīni*. Acc. mc. (Nom. for Acc.). (i) A (S) *hastino*, (M) *hastine*, (K, D) *hathīni*; Khar. D *so'ino* <*śokinaḥ*; P, Pkt. *hathino*. (ii) As Nom. above. Instr. P

49. Used for Instr.
50. *ahivadanaśilisa* (Cvo 34) is probably an error for *ahivadanaśilasa*.
51. A4 3; *yaza edadiśa yaṇa gihi parva'idaza vā* = *yasya etādṛśaṃ yānaṃ gṛhī pravrajitasya vā*.
52. Saraha's Dohā: *athi na dīau dāna*; *arthi* may also be taken as Acc.

hatthīhi; Amg. *pakkhīhim.* GEN P *hatthīnaṃ;* Amg. *pakkhīṇa(ṃ).* Loc. P, Pkt. *hatthīsu.*

§72. The present participle in *-ant* (*-at*) in MIA is generally transferred to the *-a* stem based on Acc. sg. or Nom. pl. In some of the early MIA dialects the historical NOM. sg. (mostly *-at* stems, with the preservation of the ending and the loss of *-t*) is not infrequent. The survival of other historical case forms, with the exception of GEN. SG., is generally Sanskritism.

SG.: NOM. MC. (i) A (G) *karu(ṃ)* (<**karont-*)=*kurvan;* Khar. D *pariyara* (Cro 20) <*paricaran;* P *jīvaṃ bhaṇaṃ, arahaṃ;*[53] Amg. *jāṇaṃ, kubbaṃ* <*kuruvan, ciṭṭhaṃ* <*tiṣṭhan.* (ii) Khar. D *apasu* (<**apaśyats*)=*apaśyan* 'not seeing', *anuvicitao*=*anuvicintayan, smihao*=*spṛhayan, anusmaro*=*anusmaran, muju* (<**muñcats*)=*muñcan;* P *passo. jāno.*[54] (iii) A (G) *saṃto,* (M, K) *saṃta*=*san; karāto, karoto*=*kurvan;* N *jīvaṃto, jayaṃta, arahaṃta;* P *kandanto;* Mah. *kuṇanto*=*kṛṇvan* (RV); Ś *karento;* Amg. *dento*=*dayan;* Mg. *puścande*=*pṛcchan;* Ap. *hasantu, ullasanta, jagganto* <**jāgrant-.* NOM.-ACC. NT. (ii) P, Amg. *asam* (MC. for NT.)=*asat:* A (S, K, D, J) *saṃtaṃ,* (M) *saṃta*=*sat,* (S, M) *kara(ṃ)tam,* (Ḱ, D, J, mk) *kalaṃtam*=*kurvat;* P *asamtaṃ;* Ś *dīsamtaṃ.* ACC. MC. (iii) N *jivaṃta;* P *vasantaṃ, karontaṃ;* Pkt *santaṃ, jāṇataṃ;* Ap. *dārentu.* INSTR. (i) Khar. D *asata,* P *asatā-;* P *icchatā-.* (iii) Ś *karanteṇa,* Mah. *kuṇantena*=*kurvatā;* Mg. *gaścantena;* Amg. *anukampaṃteṇam;* Ap. *bhamantẽ, roanteṃ.* GEN. (i) Khar. D *paśatu, paśato* <*paśyataḥ, vivaśatu* <*vipaśyataḥ, jhayatu* <*dhyāyataḥ, ajhayato* <*adhyāyataḥ, vianatu* <*vijānataḥ;* P *passato, karoto, sato;* Amg. *karao* <**karataḥ*=*kurvataḥ, anukubbao* <*anukurvataḥ.* (iii) A (S) *aśatasa*=*aśnataḥ;* N *jayaṃtasa;* P *passantassa, anukubbassa* <**anukarvasya;* Mah. *kuṇantassa;* Pkt. *karentassa, vasantassa;* Ap. *karantaho.* LOC. (i) P *sati,* Ś *sadi.* (iii) P *sante, kandante, arahatamhi;* Amg. *sante,*

53. Also *arahā* which shows the influence of the *-an* stem; cf. Amg. *arahā.*

54. Amg. *ajānao*<**ajānakaḥ,* or Gen. for Nom.

arahataṃsi; Mah. *hontammi* <**bhavantasmin*; Ap. *pasavante*=*prasavati*.

PL.: NOM. (i) A (G) *tiṣṭaṃto*; P *santo*, *icchato* (=*icchantaḥ*). (iii) P *passantā*, *santā*; Amg. *karentā*, *arahantā*; Pkt. *khelantā*; Ap. *hontā*. ACC. MC. (iii) *nikkhamante*; Mah. *uṇṇamante*; Amg. *samārambhante*, *arahante*. INSTR. (i) P *sabbhi* <*sadbhiḥ*. (iii) A (nj) *bhadantehi*; Pkt. *bhaṇantehi(ṃ)*; Ap. *ṇivasantahĩ*. GEN. (i) P *karotaṃ*, *kurutaṃ*=*kurvatām*, *vijānataṃ*, *arahatam*. (ii) Kharavela Inscr. P *arahantānaṃ*; P *nadantānaṃ*; Amg. *santānaṃ*, *arahantāṇam*=Mg. *alihantāṇaṃ*; Pkt. *ṇamantāṇaṃ*; Ap. *ṇavantāhã*, *pecchantāṇa*. LOC. (iii) P *santesu*; Pkt. *gacchantesu*.

§73. The use of *bhavant-* as an honorific second personal pronoun in Pali and Śaurasenī is a Sanskritism, except the voc. *bhoḥ* which had already become a vocative particle. The forms occurring are:

SG.: NOM. P, Ś *bhavaṃ* <*bhavān*. ACC. P *bhavantaṃ*. INSTR. P *bhotā*, Ś *bhavadā*. GEN. P *bhoto*, Ś *bhavado*. VOC. P *bhavaṃ* <*bhavan*, *bho* <*bhoḥ* <**bhavas*.

PL.: NOM. P *bhonto*, *bhavanto*. ACC. P *bhavante*. INSTR. P *bhavantehi*. GEN. P *bhavataṃ*.

§74. The declension of the stem *mahant-* (originally the present participle of *mah-* but had become an ordinary adjective in OIA) includes forms from the secondary base *mahā-* (MC. and FM.) which was originally Nom. SG. of *mahan-*.[55]

SG.: NOM. (i)[56] N *mahaṃta*, P *mahanto*. NOM.-ACC. NT. Amg. *mahaṃ* <*mahat*.[57] ACC. (i) N *mahaṃta*, Pkt. *mahantam*. (ii)[58] Amg. *mahaṃ* <**mahām*. INSTR. (i) P *mahantena*. (ii) Amg. *mahayā* <*mahā-* (MC. and FM.).

55. Cf. RV *mahnā* Instr. sg.; *mahā* features as the first member of compounds, but as the final member it becomes *maha-*; e.g. *mahārāja-*, *pitāmaha-* (<IE. **-meghn̥-*).

56. From the extended *-ā* base **mahanta-*.

57. Contaminated with the *-a* stem.

58. From the base **mahā-*.

(iii)[58a] P *mahatā*. Gen. (i) N *mahaṃtasa*. (iii) Amg. *maha(y)o* <*mahataḥ*. Pl.: Nom.-Acc. nt. (i) Amg. *mahantāiṃ*. Nom. (i) *mahaṃte, mahaṃti*. Acc. (i) P *mahante*.

§75. The declension of the possessive adjectives in *-vant* and *-mant* is analogous to the present participial *-nt* declension.

Sg.: Nom. mc. (i)[59] A (ru) *bhagavaṃ* <*bhagavān*; Khar. D *vatava* <*vratavān, śīlavān, cachuma, cakhuma* <**cakṣumā, bramayiyava* <*brahmacaryavān, bhayadasima* <**bhayadarśimā(n)*; P *cakkhumā*; Amg. *bha(g)avaṃ, cakkhuṁam*; Mah. *haṇumā*. (ii)[60] Amg. *haṇume* <**hanumas*, Jaina Mah. *bhagavo* <*bhagavaḥ* (Voc., RV). (iii)[61] Khar. D *silamatu* <**śīlamantaḥ*; N (proper names) *puṃñavaṃta, viryavaṃda*; Pkt. *guṇavanto*; Ap. *guṇavanta*. Nom.- Acc. nt. (i) P *ojavaṃ* <*ojavat*. (iii) P *vaṇṇavantaṃ*; Ap. *dhaṇamanta*. Acc. mc. P *satimaṃ=smṛtimantam*; Amg. *bhagavaṃ* (after Nom. *bhagavo*). Instr. (i) A (bh.), P *bhagavatā*; P *cakkhumatā*; Pkt. *bhaava(d)ā*. (iii) Pkt. *bhuttavanteṇa*. Gen. (i) Khar. D *uṭhanamato=utthānavantaḥ*; P *satimato*. (iii) Nanaghat *sirimatasa*; P *sīlavantassa*; Amg. *āusantassa=āyuṣmataḥ*; Ś *himavadassa*; Pkt. *haṇumantassa*. Loc. (i) P *sīlavati*; Mah. *himavai*. (iii) P *sīlavante*, Mah. *haṇūmante, haṇumtammi*. Pl.: Nom. mc. (i) Khar. D *smatimata* <*smṛtimantah*; N *thamavaṃte* <*dharmavantaḥ*; P *cakkhumanto*; Pkt. *bha(g)avanto*. (iii) P *sīlavantā*; Amg. *buddhimantā*.[62] Nom.-Acc. nt. (i) Amg. *balavanti*. (iii) P *ojavantāni*;[63] Amg. *vaṇṇamantāim*. Acc. nt. (iii) P *sīlavante*; Amg. *bhagavante*. Instr. (iii) P. *sīlavantehi*; Amg. *bhagavantehim*; Ap. *balavantahī*. Gen. (i) P *satimataṃ*. (iii) P *bhagavantānaṃ*. Amg. *bhagavantāṇaṃ*. Loc. (iii) P *sīlavantesu*.

58a. Inherited form.

59. Historical form; dropping the final *-n* or changing it to *-m*.

60. Pre-IA dialectal form from the weak base and retaining the ending *-s*.

61. From the extended *-a* stem.

62. Contaminated with the *-a* stem form.

63. Amg. *aüsantāro* (Voc pl.) is modelled after the *-tar* declension.

Chapter V

DECLENSION OF THE PRONOUN

§76. The personal pronouns present a rich variety of dialectal forms in MIA, especially in Asokan. Some of the new forms are of adjectival origin like the IIr. possessive pronouns, **asmāka-*, **yuṣmāka-*, OIA *mámaka-*, *māmaká-*, *māmikā-* (FM.), *mākīna-* (RV), *tāvaká-*. Others are outcome of analogy and contamination.

§77. The declension of first personal pronoun includes nine stems derived from IE **egho-*, **me* (*i*) -, **uei-* and **no* (*s*) - (OIA *aha-*, *ma* (*y*) -, *vay-*, *na-* and *asma-*): (i) *aham* with its expanded variant with the pleonastic-diminutive affix *-ka*, *ahakam*, and the aphetic variants **ham* and **hakam*, and extension **hami-*. (ii) *ma-*, *mā-* (from *mā*, *mām*, *me*, *mát*, *máyā*, *máyi*). (iii) **mami-*, extended from either *ma-* or from *mamā-*, probably from the latter if we compare it to **hami-*.[1] (iv) *maya-* (from *máyā*, *máyi*). (v) *mama*, already occurring as a stem in OIA, e.g., RV *mamat* (abl?), and *mámaka-*, *mamatā*, etc. (vi) **mabh* (*y*) *a-* (Avestan *maibyā*, *maibyo*; cf. Avestan *taibyā*, *taibyo*, OIA *túbhyam*, Latin *tibi*, Umbrian *tefe*). (vii) *mahya-* (from RV *máhya*, *máhyam*). (viii) The first person SG. of the substantive verb *as*, *asmi*, strengthened by the PL. base *asma-*, occurs as Nom. SG. in the late MIA. In non-Paninean Sanskrit *asmi* often occurs as a substitute for *aham*,[2] and its aphetic variant in MIA, *mhi*, occurs as such in Pkt., e.g. *jādo mhi* <*jāto'smi*. (ix) *asma-* (PL.; from DAT. *asmábhyam*, ABL. *asmát*, LOC-DAT. RV *ásme*). (x) *na-* (PL.; from DU. *nau*, PL. *naḥ*).

1. The First Personal Pronoun

SG.: NOM. (ia) A (G, S, M), P, N, Pkt. *ahaṃ* <*aham*; (ib) Khar. D *ahu* (also *aho*), N *ahu* (also *ahuṃ*) <**ahaḥ*; (ib)

1. The affix *-i* in **mami-*, **hami-* can be compared to OIA. *me*.+*i*= *mayi*, *tvé*+*i*=*tyayi* (post-RV)., double Loc.

2. WACKERNAGEL III §224 f a).

Aśva, *ahakaṃ*, Mah. *aha(y)aṃ* <*ahakam*,[3] Mg., Pai. *ahake* <**ahakaḥ*. (ic) A (D, J, ru) -*haṃ*;[4] Pkt. *haṃ* <**ham*. (id) A (K, D, J, T, etc.) *hakaṃ*, Ap. *haõ*[5] <**hakam*; Mg., Pai. *hak(k)e*, *hag(g)e* <**hakaḥ*. (v) N *mama* (Gen. for Nom.), Ap. *mo* (VH) <*mama*. (viii) Pkt. *amhe*. (see, pl.) *amhi* (Krama.), *mmi* (Hema) <*asme*, *(a)smi*; Pkt. *ahammi* (Vara., Mārka.), *hammi* (Puru.) <*(a)ham* + *(a)smi*. Acc. (i) N *ahu(ṃ)*, *ahaṃ* (Nom. for Acc.). (ii) A (T, etc.), P, Pkt. *maṃ*. <*mām*. (iii) Amg. *mamiṃ*,[6] Ap. *maĩ* (*maiṃ*,[7] *mai* <**mami(ṃ)*. (v) P, Pkt. *mamaṃ* <**mamam* or *mama* + *mām*. (vii) Amg., Mah. *mahaṃ* (Dat.-Gen. for Acc.) <**mabh(y)am*=*mahyam*. (viii) Pkt. *amhi* (Kram., Nom. for Acc.). Instr. (i) A (bh) *hamiyāye* (=*haṃ*+ *mamiyāye*). (ii) A (K, D, Rdh, Mth), P, Pkt. *me* (I-E Loc., OIA Dat., for Instr.) <*me*. (iii) A (T) *mamiyā* <**mami-* + -*yā*; A (J) *mamiyāye* = *mamiyā* + -*ye* (Dat.-Gen.-Loc. fm. ending). (iv) A (G, br.), P *mayā*; A (S, M), N *maya*; Pkt. *mae* <*mayā*; Pkt. *mayi* <*mayā* or *mayi* (Loc.). (v) A (K, D, J, T, b) *mamayā* <*mama-* + -*yā*, or *mama* + *mayā*; A (D) *mamāye* < *mama-* + -*yai* (Dat.-Gen.-Loc. fm.) cf. Ap. *mamaye* (Loc.). Dat. BS *haṃmi* (Mahāvastu). Abl. (ii) Pkt. *matto* <*mattaḥ*. (iv) Pkt. *maïtto* <*mayā* + *mattaḥ*. (v) Pkt. *mamā(d)o*, Ś *mamādu* (Krama.) < * *mamāt* + -*tas*; Pkt. *mamāhi* (Krama.; cf. *uttarāhi*); Amg. *mamāhiṃto* <*mama-* + *-*bhim* + -*tas*). (vi) Ap. *mahuṃ* <**mabh(y)am* (Dat. Gen. as Abl.). (vii) Ap. *majjha* <*mahyam* (Dat.-Gen. as Abl.). Gen. (i) A (bh) *hamā* <*(a)ham* + *mā(m)* (or *mama*). (ii) A (G, S, M, K, bh), P, Pkt. *me*, Khar. D *mi* <*me*. (iii) A *maĩ* <**mamim*. (iv) A (S, M) *Maa*,[8] N *mayā*

3. Noted by Patañjali (Wackernagel III, p. 446), which supports its eastern or east-central origin.

4. As appended to the verbal form *ālabhe-ham*; cf. (bh.) *ālahāmi hakam*.

5. Also *hamum* (Krama.).

6. Acc. to Pischel (§418). fm. modelled after *mamam*, but mami- occurs in A and not fm.

7. *aim* (Krama), if not an error for *maim*, probably comes from the dual base *āva-*.

8. It may stand for *maha*<**mabh(y)am*.

<*mayā* (Instr. for Gen.). (v) A (G, Ksb, Rdh, Mth, Rp), N, P, Pkt. *mama*, A (K, D, T) *mamā* <*mama*. A (J), P, Pkt. *mamaṃ* <**mamam*. (vi) Pkt. *maha(ṃ)*, Ap. mahuṃ <**mabh(y)am* = *mahyam*. (vii) Wardak Vase *mahiya*, N *mahi*, P *mayhaṃ*, Pkt. *majjha(ṃ)*, <*mahyam* (often for Gen. in Mbh.); Ap. *majjhu* <*mahyam*. Loc. (iii) Ap. *maĩ* <**mamiṃ*, or *mayā* + *-ena* (Acc. or Instr. for Loc.). (iv) P *mayi*, Pkt. *maï* <*mayi*. Pkt. *mae* <*mayā* (Instr. for Loc.). (v) Mah. *mamammi*, Amg. *mamaṃsi* (Krama.) <**mamasmin*. Ap. *mamaye* (Hema.) <*mama-* + *-ye* (fm. ending).

Pl.: Nom. N *vayaṃ* (also *veyaṃ*, *veya*), Pkt. *va(y)aṃ* <*vayam*. A (D, J) *maye*, P *mayaṃ* <*vayam*.[9] (ixa) Mg. *asme* <RV *asme* (extended from Loc.-Dat.). (ixb) *asma-* >*amha-*: Pallava *amho*; P, Pkt., Ap. *amhe* <*asme*; Ap. *amhaĩ* <*asma-* + *-ena* (Instr.). (ixc) *asma-* >*amha-* >*ambha-*: Ap. *ambhe* <*asme*. (ixd) *asma-* >*amha-* >*ambha-* >*abbha-*: Pkt. *bhe* (Caṇḍa)[10] <*(a)sme*. (ixe) *asma-* >*amha-* >*ambha-* Pai. *ampha* (Krama.). <**asmam* (cf. Gen. *amha*, *amhaṃ*). Acc. (ixa) Mg. *asme* (see Nom.). (ixb) Ś *amhe*, Mah *amha*, Ap. *amhaim* (also as Nom. pl.), P *amhākaṃ* (<*asmākam*), N *asmag'eṇa* (<**asmākenām*). Pkt. *amheṇā* (Krama.; <**asmenām* or **asmenā*), Ap. *amhahaṃ* (<**asma-sām*); Gen. for Acc. (ixe) A (D) *aphe*, (J) *apheni*[11] <*asme*. (x) A (K, D, J) *ne*; P *no*; Mg., Amg. *ṇe*; Ś, Mah. *ṇo* <*naḥ*. Instr. (ix) N *asmabhi*, Mg. *asmehiṃ*, P *amhehi*, Pkt. *amhe-hi(ṃ)*, Ap. *amhehĩ* <*asmābhiḥ*, **asmebhiḥ*, **asmebhim*. (x) P *no*, Amg. *ṇe* (see Acc.). Abl. (ix) Ap. *amha* (Krama.) <*as-mat*; Pkt. *amhehiṃto*, *amhāhiṃto*, *amhāsuṃto*. Gen. (vii) Pkt. *majjhāṇam* (Krama.) <**mahyānām*. (viii) A (D) *aphāka(ṃ)*, N *asmag'a*, P *amhākaṃ*, *asmākaṃ*, N *asmehi* (Instr. for Gen.), N. *a(s)mahu*, Ap. *amhahu* <*asma-*+**-sas* (Gen. sg. or **as-mabhaḥ*), Pkt. *amhāṇa(ṃ)*, Mg. *asmāṇaṃ* =*asmābhyam*; Ap. *amhahã* <**asma-* + *-sām* (Gen. pl.). P *amhaṃ*, Pkt. *am-*

9. *v-* >*m-* by the influence of *mama*, *me*, *mahyam* etc.
10. For all cases (Pischel §418).
11. For the particle *-ni* cf. Greek (Arcadian) *tō-ní* (Gen. sg.), *tān-ni* (Acc. fm.).

ha(*ṃ*), Ap. *amha* <**asmām* or *asmat* (ABL. for GEN.). Amg. *amhe* (DAT.-LOC. for GEN.). Ap. *amhāra*-[12] (Puru.) <*asma-* +-*āra*(?) (x) A (K, D, J) *ne*, P *no*, Pkt. *ṇo*, *ṇe* <*naḥ*. LOC. (ix) A (D, J) *aphesu*, *aphesū*, P *amhesu*, Pkt. *amhesu*(*ṃ*) <**asmeṣu*; Ap. *amhāsu* <*asmāsu*.

2. THE SECOND PERSONAL PRONOUN

§78. The declension of the second personal pronoun comprises (i) beside the historical forms, new formations and older survivals from the bases: (ii) *tva-*, including the weak form (iia) *tu-* and its extensions (iib) **tum*(*a*)-, (iic) **tusa-*, (iid) **tuṣma-*, (iie) **tuhya-* and (iif) **tubhya-*, (iii) *yu-* including its extensions, (iiia) *yuṣma-*, (iiib) **yuhya-* and (iiic) **yubhya-*. Historically the stems *yu-* and *va-* belonged to the dual-plural and the base *t*(*v*)*a-* to the singular, but in MIA there is no such distinction in the use of the stems.

SG.: NOM. (i) N *tuo* <**tuváḥ*=*tuvám*; P, BS. *tuvaṃ*, Pkt. *tuṃ* <*tvám* (disyllabic)=RV *tuám* (*tuvam*); cf. OP *tuvam*, Av. *tūm*. P *tvaṃ*, Pkt. *taṃ* <*tvam* (monosyllabic). (iia) N *tu* <IIr. **tū*, cf. Av. *tū*. (iib) Pkt. *tumaṃ* (from Acc.). (iic) Pkt., Ap. *tuha*(*ṃ*), Ap. *tuhũ* <**tuṣām*, **tusuṃ* (GEN., LOC. PL.). (iii) Pkt. *si* <*asi* (second pers. SG. of *as-*). ACC. (i) P, Pkt. *taṃ* <*tvām* (monosyllabic); cf. OP *ϑuvām*, Av. *ϑwam*. Pkt. *tum* (from NOM.). (ii) Pkt. *te*, *de* <*tvé* RV (LOC.). Ap. *taĩ*, *paĩ*[13] <**tvayim* (see INSTR.). Pkt. *tue* <*tvayā*. (iib) Pkt. *tume* <*tvé*. INSTR. (i) P *t*(*v*)*ayā*, Pkt. *tae* <*tvayā*. Pkt. *taī* <*tvayi* (LOC.). P *te*, Pkt. *te* (*de*) <RV *tvé* (LOC.). (ii) Ap. *taĩ*, *paĩ*[14] <**tvayena*. (iia) Pkt. *tue*, *tui* <**tuyā*, **tuyi*. (iib) Pkt. *tumae*, *tumāi* <**tuma-*+ -(*ā*)*yai* (F.M.). (iid) Ap. *tumhaī* (also Acc.) <**tuṣmābhiḥ* (PL. for SG.). ABL. (i) P *tatto* <*tvattaḥ*. Pkt. *taïtto* <*tvayi* +*tvattaḥ*. (iia) Pkt. *tuitto* <**tuyi* + *tvattaḥ*. (iib) Pkt. *tumāo*, *tumā*(*d*)*u* <**tumāt* + *tas*. Pkt. *tumāhu* <**tumāsu* (from LOC.). Pkt. *tumāhi* (cf. *uttarāhi*). (iic) Ap. *tuha*

12. Possessive adjective.
13. Dialect change of *tv-*>*tp-* (cf. *ātman-*>*ātpa-*).
14. BURROW §79 and Index.

<*tusa(ḥ) (from GEN.). (iie) Ap. *tujjha*; see GEN. (iif) Ap. *tubbha* <*tubhyam*. GEN. (i) N, P, Pkt. *tava*, Ap. *tuü* (also *to*, cf. N *tomi*[15]) <*tava*; P *tavam* <*tava* + *tvam*. P. *te*, Pkt. *te* (*de*) <*te*. (ii) N *tahi* <**tvadhi* or *tvābhi-* (from LOC.-INSTR.). (iia) N *tusa*, *tusya*[16] <**tuṣya*, *tuva*, *tuma*[17] <**tu* + *tava*, *tui* <**tuyi* (from LOC.). (iib) Pkt. *tumo* <**tumas* =*tava*, *tumāi* (see INSTR.); Ceylon *tumaha*. (iic) Ap. *tuha* <**tusa*(*ḥ*) =*tava*; Pkt. *tuhe*, *tuha*, *tuhu*, Ap. *tuhũ* <**tusu*(*ṃ*) (from LOC. PL.). (iid) P *tumhaṃ*, Pkt. *tumha*, *tumho*, *tumhe*, *tumma* <**tuṣmam*, **tuṣmaḥ*, **tuṣmat* (from ABL. PL.). (iie) P *tuyhaṃ*; Pkt. *tujjha*, *tuyha*; Ap. *tujjha*, *tujjhu* <**tuhya-* (after *mahyam*); Ap. *tujjhaha* <**tuhya-* + -*sa* or -*sas* (GEN.). (iif) Pkt., Ap. *tubbha*(*ṃ*) <*tubhya*(*m*). (iiia) Pkt. *umma* <*yuṣmat* (ABL.), **yuṣma*(*m*). (iiib) *ujjha*, *uyha* <**yuhya*(*m*) (after *mahyam*). (iiic) Pkt. *ubbha* <**yubhya*(*m*)=*tubhya*(*m*). (iv) Ap. *tesau*. LOC. (i) P *t*(*v*)*ayi*, Pkt. *taï* (also *tae*) <*tvayi*. Pkt. *tu*(*v*), *tu*(*v*)*ei* <*tvé* (RV). (ii) Pkt. *tuvammi* <**tvasmin*. Ap. *taĩ*, *paĩ* (see INSTR). (iia) Pkt. *tummi*[18] <**tuṣmim*. (iib) Pkt. *tumae*, *tumāi* (see INSTR).; Amg. *tumaṃsi*, Pkt. *tumasmi* (Krama.) <**tumasmin*.

PL. NOM.: (iid) A (D, J, sn) *tuphe*; P, Pkt. Ap. *tumhe*, *tumbhe tummaṃ* <**tuṣme*. Pai *tumpha*, *tuppha* (Krama.) <**tuṣma-*. (iie) P *tujjhe* (from ACC.). (iif) Pkt. *tubbha* <*tubhya-*. (iiib) Mg. *uyhe* <**yuhya-*. (iiic) A (J) *phe*, Pkt. *bhe*[19] (cf *ubbha* GEN. SG.) <**yubhya-*. ACC. (i) A (J, bh, mk) *ve*; P, Pkt. *vo* <*vaḥ*. (iid) A (J) *tupheni*;[20] Pkt. *tumhe*; P *tumhākaṃ* (from GEN.); *Ap.* *tumhahaṃ* <**tuṣmāsām* (GEN.). (iie) Pkt. *tujjhe* <**tuhye* = *yuṣmé* RV (LOC.). (iii) Khar. D yu (A1, 4, A2, 7) <IIr. **yūs*; cf. Av. *yūš* (ACC. PL. enclitic). (iiie) P *bhe*, Pkt. *mhe* (Vasudeva-hiṇḍī: as Acc. Instr. and Gen. PL.) (see

15. Used as NOM. also.
16. Influenced by *tumam*.
17. Also NOM. in *Avahaṭṭha*.
18. For the loss of *yu-* cf. Av *xshvmaibyā*, *xshmāvoyā* (Dat. pl.).
19. See *apheni* Acc. PL. of the first personal pronoun.
20. Also read as *yuṣmu* (BURROW §79).

NOM.). INSTR. (i) P *vo* <*vaḥ* (ACC.-DAT.-GEN. for Instr). (iid) A (D, J) *tuphehi;* P *tumhehi;* Pkt. *tumhehi* (*ṃ*), *tummehi* (*ṃ*); Ap. *tumhehĩ* <*tuṣma-*. (iie) Pkt. *tujjhehi* (*ṃ*) <**tuhya-*. (iif) Pkt. *tubbhehi* (*ṃ*) <**tubhya-*. (iiib) Mg. *uyhehi* (*ṃ*) <**yuhya-*. (iiic) Pkt. *bhe* (see NOM.). DAT. (i) A (J, bh, mk) *ve* <*vaḥ*. ABL. (iid) Ap. *tumāe* (VH). GEN. (i) P, Pkt. *vo* <*vaḥ*. (ii) Pkt. *tuvāṇa* (*ṃ*) <**tvānāṃ*, **tuvānām*. (iib) Pkt. *tumāṇa* (*ṃ*) <**tumānām*. (iic) Pkt. *tuhāṇa* (*ṃ*) <**tuṣāṇām*. (iid) A (D, J, ru) *tuphāka,* (sn) *tuphākaṃ,* (ru) *tupaka;* N *tusmag'a, tusmakaṃ;* P *tumhākaṃ* <**tuṣmākam* = *yuṣmākam*. Pkt. *tumhāṇa* (*ṃ*) < **tuṣmāṇām*. Ap. *tumhahã* (also ABL.) <**tuṣmāṣām*. N *tumahu, tusmahu* <**tuṣmāsu* (LOC.), or **tuṣmabhyam* (DAT.-ABL.). P *tumhaṃ,* Pkt. *tumha* (*ṃ*), Ap. *tumha, tubbhaṃ* (also ABL.) <**tuṣmat* (Abl.) or **tuṣmam*. (iie) Pkt. *tuhyāṇa* (*ṃ*) <**tuhyānām, tujjha* (*ṃ*) <**tuhyam*. (iif) Pkt. *tubbha* (*ṃ*) <*tubhyam, tubbhe* <**tubhyaḥ, tubbhā* <**tubhyāt*. (iii) Khar. D yu (A2, 7) (see ACC.). (iiia) N *yuṣma*[20] <*yuṣmat* (ABL. for GEN.). (iiic) Pkt. *bhe* (see NOM.) LOC. (ii) Pkt. *tuvesu* <**tveṣu* or **tuveṣu*. (iia) Pkt. *tusu* <**tuṣu*. (iib) Pkt. *tumesu*. (iic) Pkt. *tuhesu* <**tuṣeṣu*. (iid) A (D, J) *tuphesu;* Pkt. *tumhesu* (*ṃ*), *tumbhisuṃ* <**tuṣmeṣu* (*m*). Pkt., Ap. *tumhāsu* <**tuṣmāsu* = *yuṣmāsu*. (iie) Pkt. *tujjhesu* (*ṃ*), *tujjhisuṃ* <**tuhya-*. (iif) Pkt. *tubbhesu* <*tubhya-*.

3. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

§79. The declension of the general demonstrative *ta-* (*sa-*) in MIA follows the OIA distribution of the stems, i.e. *sa-* in MC.-FM. Nom. only and *ta-* elsewhere. The Nom. MC. *saḥ* is extended to the Nom-Acc. NT. also. Beside the inherited FM. base *tā-* MIA employs also **tī-* in analogy of the FM. substantives in *-ī*.[21] The declension of the FM. bases *tā-*, **tī-* follows the pattern of the FM. noun declension.

NOM. SG. (1) MC. A (S, G), Khar. D, N, P, Pkt., Ap. *so* <*saḥ*. A (K) *ṣe,* (M, K, D) *se,* N *se,* Amg. *se,* Mg. *śe*

21. Avestan *hī* comes from IIr. **sī-* (cf. RV *sīm*).

<*sah*. Khar. D. Ap. *su* <*saḥ*. A (S), Khar. D, P, Pkt. *sa* <*sa*(*ḥ*). (2) FM. A (G, K), P, Pkt. *sā*; (K) *ṣā*; A (S), Khar. D, N *sa* <*sā*. (3) NT. A (G, S, M, K) *ta* <*tat*. N *taṃ* (NOM. only) <*tat* (with the substitution of the nominal ending *-m* for the pronominal *-t*), *ta* (ACC. only) <*tam* (ACC. SG. MC.). A (G, S, M, K, D, J etc.), P, Pkt., *taṃ* <*tat* or *tam*. A (S, G), Ap. *so*; Ap. *su*; A (M, K, D, J, G), Amg. *se*, Mg. *śe* <*saḥ* (Nom. MC.). Ap. *druṃ*.[22]

ACC. SG. MC. FM. A (T etc.), P, Pkt., Ap. *tam*, Khar D *tam*,[23] N *ta* <*tam*. Ap. *tu* <*tam*, after the analogy of Nom. *su*. N *se* (see GEN.). Ap. *tāsu* (see GEN.).

INSTR. SG. (1) MC.NT. A (S, M, G, K, D, J, T), Khar. D, P, N *tena*, (K) *tenā*; Pkt. *teṇa*(*ṃ*); Ap. *tiṇa*, *tẽ* <*tena*, *tenā* (RV). Amg. *se* (from DAT.-GEN.). (2) FM. P. *tāya*, Pkt. *tāe* <**tāya* = *tayā*; cf. Av. *āya* = *ayā* (RV) = *anayā*. Pkt. *tīe*, *tīa* <**tīyā*, **tīyai*.

DAT. SG. A (G) *tāya* <**tāya* = *tasmai*; A (S, M) *taye*, (K, kq) *tāye* <**tāyai* (from FM.).

ABL. SG. (1) MC.-NT. A (K) *taphā*,[24] N *tasma* (in *tasmartha*), P *tamhā* (also *tasmā*), Amg. *tamhā* <*tasmāt*. Mah., Ap. *tā* <*tāt* RV. A (S, M, K), P *tato*, (M) *tata*, N *tade*, Pkt. *ta*(*d*)*o*> Pkt., Ap. *tao* <*tataḥ*. Amg. *tāo* <*tāt* + *-tas* (see FM.). (2) FM. P *tāya* (see INSTR.). Amg. *tāo* <**tāyaḥ* (see MC.-NT.).

GEN. SG. (1) MC.-NT. A (S, M, G, D, J), Khar. D *tasa*; A (K) *taśa*, *taṣā*, *tasā* <*tasya* or **tasa*. N *tasa* (*tasemi*), Ap. *tāsa* <*tasa*. N *tasya*, P, Pkt. *tassa* <*tasya*. Ap. *tāsu*, *tāho* <**tāsaḥ*; Ap. *tassu* <*tasya* + **tasaḥ*. Basim Cop. PL. *tissa*

22. According to Kramadīśvara, correlative of *jrum*; so also Loc. *jadru* . . *tadru*.

23. The final *-m* is protected by the following vowel in the refrain *tam ahu bromi bramana*, or in the phrase '*tam eva*' as also in A (K). The analogy of the latter is followed in *sameva puyana* (Cro 21) = *sā eva pūjanā*.

24. XIII 3: *yetaphā* = *ye taphā* cf. S XIII 1: *yetato* = *ye tato*.

<**tīṣya* (from FM. **tī-*). Nagar. *se* (FM.); Amg., Mah. *se*[25] Mg. *śe* <IIr. **sai*; cf. OP *saiy*, Av. *se, he*. (2) FM. N *tae*; Pkt. *tāe* <**tāyai*. N *taya*, P *tāya* <**tāyam* (Loc.) or **tāya* (INSTR.). P *tassā* <*tasyāḥ*. P, Pkt. *tissā* <**tīsyāḥ*. P *tissāya* <tissā + tāya. Amg. *tīā* <**tīyāḥ*. Pkt. *tīe*, Amg. *tīi* <**tīyai*. Amg. *tīse* <**tīsyai*. Ap. *tāhe* <**tāsyai*, *tāsu* <**tāsaḥ* or **tāsyaḥ*. Nagarjuni *se* (see MC.-NT.).

LOC. SG. (1) MC.-NT. A (G) *tamhi*, P *tamhi* (also *tasmiṃ*), Amg. *taṃsi*, Ś *tassiṃ*, Mg. *taśśiṃ*, M *tammi* <*tasmin*; A (S, D, J) *tasi*, (K) *taśi* <*tasmin* or **tasi*. N *te* <**tai*, **tāi*. cf. Gk. *toi-de*), *tatra* (also *tatremi, tatrimi*) <*tatra*, *tomi* (see Instr.). N, Ap. (Hema.) *taṃ* <*tat* (as the first member of a compound loosely used; BURROW §80). Ap. *tahiṃ* <**tabhim*, *tadru* (Hema.); (see Acc.). Khar. D *tatra'i* <*tatracit*. (2) FM. P *tassaṃ* <*tasyām*, *tissam* <**tiṣyām*, *tāyaṃ* <**tāyām*, *tāsam* <**tās(y)ām*. Pkt. *tāe*, *tīe* <**tāyai*, **tīyai*, *tīa* **tīyā(m)*, *tāhiṃ* <**tābhim*. Amg. *tāse*, *tāhe* <*tās(y)ai*.

NOM. PL. (1) MC. A, Khar. D, P, Pkt. *te*, Pkt. *de* <*te*. A (S, G) *so*, (K, D, T) *se* Ap. *se* (VH) <*saḥ* SG. for PL.). (2) FM. A (K, D), P *ta* <*tāḥ*. P *tāyo*, BS *tāyo* (*tāvo*), Pkt. *tāo* <**tāyaḥ* (after the FM. noun). A *te*, Ś *te* (*de*) <*te* (MC. for FM.).

NOM.-ACC. PL. NT. A (D, T), P *tāni*, Khar. D *tani*, Amg. *tāṇi* <*tāni*. Pkt. *tāiṃ* <**tā* + *im*. A (S, M) *sa* <*sā* (FM. SG. for MC.-NT. PL.) or for **sāni*=*tānī*. A (K, D, T), Amg. *se*, Mg. *śe* <*saḥ* (MC. SG. for NT. PL.).

ACC. PL. (1) MC. N, P, Pkt. *te* Pkt. *de* <*te* (Nom. for Acc.) (2) FM. P *tā* <*tāḥ*. P *tāyo*, Pkt. *tāo* (see Nom.) Pkt. *te* (Nom. MC. for Acc. FM.).

INSTR. PL. (1) MC. NT. A (G, K, M), P, Pkt. *tehi* <*tebhiḥ* (Vedic). Pkt. *tehiṃ* <**tebhim*. (2) FM. P, Pkt. *tahi* <*tabhiḥ*. Pkt. *tāhiṃ* <**tābhim*.

DAT. PL. MC. A (G) *tehi* (see Instr.).

25. FM. also; N *se* is used as Acc. only.

Abl. pl. mc. Amg. *tebbho* <*tebhyaḥ* (Sanskritism). Mah. *tehiṃ*, Amg. *tehiṃto* <**tebhim*+-*tas*.

Gen. pl. (1) mc. nt. A (G, J, T, etc.), P *tesaṃ*; A (D) *tesa*; A (S), N *teṣa* (*ṃ*); Khar. D *teṣa* <*teṣāṃ*. A (K, T, etc.) *tānaṃ*, N *tana*, Pkt. *tāṇa* (*ṃ*), *Ap. tāṇa* <**tānām*. Amg. *tesiṃ* <**teṣim*, *tāsi* <**tāsim*. N *tasa*, Amg. *tāsa* (sg. for pl.). P *tesānaṃ* <*teṣām*+**tānām*. Ap. *tāhā̃* <*tāsām*. (2) fm. N *tina* <**tīnām*. P *tāsaṃ* <*tāsām*. Pkt. *tāṇa* (*ṃ*) <**tānām*. P *tāsāṇaṃ* <*tāsāṃ*+**tānām*. Pkt. *tāsiṃ* <*tāsim*. BS. *sānām* (<*sa*-) is used also as Acc. pl.

Loc. pl. (1) mc.-nt. A (T), P, Pkt. *tesu*, N *teṣu* <*teṣu*. Pkt. *tesum* <**teṣum*. Ap. *tahĩ* <**tābhim* or **tebhim*. (2) fm. P. Pkt. *tāsu* <*tāsu*.

§80. The declension of *eta*- (*eṣa*-) shows much less dialectal variants.

Nom. sg. mc. Khar. D *eṣo*; P, Pkt. *eso*; Amg. *ese*; Mg. *eśe*; Ap. *eho* <*eṣaḥ*. N *eṣa*, Pkt. *esa*, Ap. eha <*eṣa* (*ḥ*). N *eda* (see Acc.).

Nom. sg. fm. A, P, Pkt. *esā*, N *eṣa*, Ap. *eha* <*eṣā*. A (T etc.) *esa* (mc. for fm.).

Nom.-Acc. sg. nt. A (G, S) *eta* <*etat* or **etam* (as in Av. also). A (D, J, T, Su) P *etaṃ* <**etam*. A *esa*, *ese* (K, b), *eṣe* (S, M, K.); N *eṣa* (Nom.), Ap. *eha*, *ehu* <*eṣa* (*ḥ*). Ap. *ehaüṃ* (Acc. only) <**eṣakam*.

Acc. sg. mc.-fm. Khar. D *eta*, N *eda*, P *etaṃ*, Pkt. *e* (*d*) *aṃ* <*etam*, *etaṃ*. N *eṣa*, Ap. *esa* (VH), *ehu* <*eṣā*, *esaḥ* (Nom. for Acc.).

Instr. sg. mc.-nt. A (T etc.) *etena*, Pkt. *eeṇa* (*ṃ*) <*etena*. A (ru) *etinā*, Khar, D *etina*, Pkt. *ediṇā* <**etinā*.

Instr. sg. fm. Pkt. *e* (*d*) *āye* <**etāyai*. *eīe* (Hema.) <**etīyai*.

Dat. sg. mc.-nt. A (G) *etāya* <**etāya*=*etasmai*; A (ru) *etiya* <**eti*- + *ya*; A (K, D, J, T etc.) *etāye*, A (S, M) *etaye*

<*etā* + *-yai* (FM. ending); A (bh) *eteni* (see *apheni* and *bhe* §§77, 78).

ABL. SG. Pkt. *e(d)ā(d)o, e(d)ā(d)u* <**etāt*[26] + *-tās*; *eā* <**etāt*;[26] *e(d)āhi* <**etāhi* (cf *uttarāhi*). Pkt. *etto, etthā* (Krama.), *ettāhe*; Ap. *ettahe*; adverbial.

GEN. SG. MC.-NT. A (G, M, D, J) *etasa*, (S) *etisa*, (K) *etiṣā* <*etas(y)a*, **etiṣ(y)a*. N *edasya*, Pkt. *e(d)assa* <*etasya*. N *etasa, edasa* <**etasa(ḥ)*. Mg. *edāha* <**etāsa*.

GEN. SG. FM. N *etaya* <**etāyāḥ*=*etasyāḥ*.

LOC. SG. A *etamhi*, (G) <*etasmin*, P *etasi*, (D, J) <*etasmin* or **etasi*.

NOM. PL. MC. A (G, D, T etc). *ete*, N *ede*, Pkt. *e(d)e*, Ap. *ei* <*ete*. A (S) *eta*, N *eda* <*etā* (NT. PL., Vedic).

NOM. PL. FM. A (G) *esā* (SG. for PL.). N *edā*, Jaina Mah. *eyā* (NT. for FM. see Nom.) Pkt. *e(d)āo* <*etāḥ*; BS *etāyo*; N *ede* (MC for FM.).

NOM.-ACC. PL. NT. A *etāni*, (K, J, T, etc.); (M) *etani* (M); Amg. *eyāni*, <*etāni*. Pkt. *e(d)āi(ṃ)* <**etā* +*iṃ*. N *ede, eda*; Pkt. *e(d)e* (see NOM. MC.).

ACC. PL. MC.-FM. N *ede* (also eda: see NOM.), Pkt. *e(d)e*, Ap. *ei*: NOM. for ACC.

INSTR. PL. MC.-NT. Pkt. *e(d)ehiṃ* <**etebhim*.

INSTR. PL. NT. Amg. *eyāhiṃ* <**etābhim*.

GEN. PL. MC.-NT. A (K) *etānaṃ*, N *edana*, Pkt. *e(d)āṇa(ṃ)* <**etānām*. N *eteṣa, edeṣa* <*eteṣām*; N *edeṣana* (double suffixation). Pallava Inscr. *etesi*, Amg. *eesi(ṃ)* <**eteṣim*.

GEN. PL. FM. Pkt. *e(d)āṇa(ṃ)* <**etāṇām*, *eiṇaṃ* <**etīnām*. Amg. *eyāsiṃ* <**etāsim*.

LOC. PL. MC.-NT. A (T) *etesu*, Pkt. *e(d)esu(ṃ)* <*etesu*.

26. Cf, old ablatives *āt, tāt, yāt* (RV).

The extended base *e(t)taka-* 'this much' has the following sq. declensional forms in Asokan:

Nom. nt. (G) *etakaṃ*, (S) *etake*. Nom. fm. (J) *etakā*.

Instr. (S, M, D, J) *etakena*, (K) *etakenā*.

Dat. (G) *etakāya*, (K, D) *etakāye*, (S, M) *etakaye*.

§81. The declension of the near demonstrative stem *i-* (including its extensions *ima-*, *iya-* and cognates *a-*, *aya-*) is as follows. The base *ima-* which is practically restricted to Nom. and Acc. in OIA, is employed in all the cases in MIA.

Nom. sg. mc. A (G) P *ayaṃ*, (S) *aya*, Amg. *ayaṃ*, Pkt. *aaṃ*[27] *<ayam*. A (K) *iyam*, (ru) *iya*, N *iyo* (also *yiyo*[28]) *<iyam*,[29] **iyah*. Khar. D. *ita* (A23), N *itaṃ* (in *itaṃca*) *<idam* (nt. for mc.). Ara stone inscr. of *Kaniṣka II imo;* Pkt. *imo, ime*, Ap. *imu* *<imam* (Acc. for Nom.). Ap. *eho, ehe, eha* *<esaḥ, eṣa, eṣā*.

Nom. sg. fm. A (G, M, K, Rdh, bb) iyaṃ, N (*y*)*iyo*, Pkt. (Ś) *iaṃ* *<iyam*. A (S, G), Amg. *ayaṃ*, A (S, M) *ayi* *<ayaṃ* (mc. for fm.), **ayaḥ*. Pkt. *imā* (*<imāḥ* pl. for sg. or **imā*), *imiā* (*<*imikā*). Ap. *eha* *<eṣā*. Ap. *eho, ehu* *<eṣaḥ*, N *itaṃ* *<etam, etām* (Acc. for Nom.).

Nom.-Acc. sg. nt. A (S, G), P, Pkt. *idaṃ*, Khar. D *ida*, N *itaṃ* (*-ca*) *<idaṃ*. A (S, M, G, D, T) *iyaṃ*, (S, M) *iya*, (S) *iyo*, N (*y*)*iyo* *<iyam, *iyaḥ* (see mc.-fm.). A (K, J) *eyam* *<*etam+iyam*. A (S, M, K, D, T, br, bh, sd), P, Pkt. *imam*, (S, M, mk), N *ima*[30] *<imam* (from Acc. mc.). Pkt. *ime, Ap. imu* *<imam* Ap. *iṇaṃ* (Krama) *<i*[31]*+enam:* Ap. *iṇamu* (Krama) *<i + ena- + imam*.

Acc. sg. mc. A (T), P, Pkt. *imaṃ*, N *ima* *<imam*. Khar. D *ita* *<i-*[31] *+ eta-*.

27. According to Pischel *<*adam=adaḥ*.
28. *<ya+iya-*; cf. P *-yāyaṃ=yā ayam*.
29. Always fm. in OIA and Av., mc. and fm. in OP.
30. N Acc. only.
31. The simple base *i-* occurs in *id, im, īm* (RV).

Acc. sg. fm. P, Pkt. *imaṃ* <*imām*

Instr. sg. mc.-nt. A (G, br, sd), P *iminā*, Khar. D *imina*, Pkt. *imiṇā* <**iminā*. A (Mi) *minā*, (T, Ksb, Rdh, Mth, Rp) *mina*, P *aminā* <*amu*+**iminā*. A (J) *imena*; Kalawan Inscr., Pkt. *imeṇa*, Ap. *eṃ* <**imena*. Mah. *eṇa* <RV *ená*, *enā*. P *anena* <*anena*. Ap. *āeṇa* <**āyena*. Pkt. *imesiṃ* (Gen. pl. for Instr. sg.).

Instr. sg. fm. P *imāya* <**imayā*.

Dat. sg. A (G, ru) *imāya* mc.-nt. only) <**imāya*. A (K, D) *imāye*, (M) *imaye* <**imāyai*.

Abl. sg. P. *asmā* <*asmā*; *imamhā*, <**imasmāt*,[32] *imāya* (fm.) <**imayā* (instr.) M *ā* (adv.) <RV *āt*.

Gen.sg. mc.-nt. A (G, M, D) *imasa*, (K) *imasā*, P, Pkt. *imassa* <*imásya* (RV 8.13.41). A (S) *imisa* <**imiṣya*. P, Pkt. *assa* <*asya*. Ap. *āaho* <**āyasya*.

Gen. sg. fm. P *assā* <*asyāḥ*, *imissā* <**imiṣyāḥ*, *imāya* (see Instr.), *imissāya* <*imissā* + *imāya*. Amg. *imise* <**imiṣyai*.

Loc. sg. mc.nt. A (G), P *imamhi*, Pkt. *imassiṃ* <**imasmin*.[33] Khar. D *asmi*, Pallava Inscr. *asi* (in *casi*[33]=*ca*+*asi*), P *asmiṃ*, Pkt. *assiṃ* <*asmin*. Amg. *ayaṃsi*, Pkt. *āammi* <**ayasmin*. Pkt. *īammi* <**iyasmin*. Ap. *āahiṃ* <**āyabhim*.

Loc. sg. fm. P *assaṃ* <*asyāṃ*, *imassam* <**imasyām*, *imassā* <**imasyāḥ* (Gen.), *imāyaṃ* <**imāyām*.

Nom. pl. mc. A (G, M, K, D, T etc.), N, P *ime*, Khar. D *imi* <*ime*. N *yima* <*ya*- + *imāḥ*.

Acc. pl. mc. N, P *ime*; N *yima* (see Nom.).

Nom.Acc. pl. fm. N *yima* <*ya* + *imāḥ*. P *imā* <*imāḥ*, N, P *ime* (see mc.) P *imāo* <**imāyaḥ* (after the noun declension).

32. Cf. Aitareya Āraṇyaka: *imasmai*.

33. According to Pischel. It is probably the Loc. sg. of IIr. **ça*-: **çasmin*>Av. *cahmī*.

Nom.-Acc. pl. nt. A (M, T etc.), P *imāni* <*imāni*. N *ime*, *yima* (see mc. fm.). <**āyāni*.

Instr. pl. mc.-nt. A (D, J), P *imehi* <**imebhiḥ*.[34] P, Pkt. *ehi* <*ebhiḥ*, Pkt. *ehiṃ* <**ebhim*. fm. Pkt. *aṇāhi(ṃ)* (Vasudevahiṇḍī); BS *imāhim*.

Instr. pl. fm. P *ehi*, *imehi* (see mc.-nt.). Pkt. *āhi* <*ābhiḥ*.

Gen. pl. mc.-nt. P *esaṃ* <*eṣam*, *esānaṃ* <**eṣānām* or *eṣām* + *nām*, *imesaṃ* <**imeṣām*, *imesānaṃ* (double suffixation). Mah. *esiṃ* <**esim*.

Gen. pl. fm. P *āsaṃ* <*āsām*; Mathura Stone Inscr. *imāsāṃ*, P *imasānaṃ* <**imāsānām* (double suffixation).

Gen. pl. mc.-fm.-nt. Pkt. (Krama.) *imāṇa* <**imānām*, *iminā* <**iminā(m)*, *imesiṃ* <**imeṣim*.

Loc. pl. mc.-nt. P, Pkt. (Jaina) *eṣu*. P *imesu* <**imeṣu*.

Loc. pl. fm. P *imāsu* <**imāsu*.

§82. The defective base *ena-* and its enclitic form *na-* (which in Asokan occurs as an indefinite pronoun) are declined as follows:

Sg.: Nom. N *nac″i* (<**naścit*). Acc. mc.-fm. P *enaṃ*, *naṃ*; Pkt. *eṇaṃ*, *iṇaṃ*, *ṇa(ṃ)* < *(e)nām*, * *(i)nām*; Nom. Acc. nt. P *enaṃ*, *naṃ*; Pkt. *iṇaṃ*, *ṇaṃ*, *iṇamo* (Krama.). Instr. mc. Pkt. *ṇeṇa* < *(a)ena*, *(e)nena*; Instr. fm. Pkt. *ṇāe* <* *(e)nāyai*. Gen. mc. P *nassa* <* *(e)nasya*. Instr. pl. msc. Pkt. *ṇehiṃ*.

Pl.: Nom. mc.-fm. A (Rdh, Mth, Rp, kq) *nāni* <* *(e)nāni*. Acc. mc. A (G), P *ne*, Pkt. *ṇe* <* *(e)ne* (cf. *te* Nom. pl. mc.). A (G) *nāni* (see Nom.). Instr. mc.-nt. Pkt. *ṇehiṃ*; Instr. fm. Pkt. *ṇāhiṃ*. Gen. mc. P *nesaṃ* <* *(e)neṣām*.

§83. The Vedic demonstrative bases *tya-* and *tva-* are represented by the following sg. forms in Pali only, probably

34. Cf. Mbh. *imaiḥ*.

as artificial archaism: NOM. *tumo* <**tuvaḥ* <*tvaḥ*.[35] GEN. *tumassa* <*tvasya*. LOC. *tyamhi*[36] <*tyasmin*.

§84. The Indo-Iranian demonstrative *ava-*, which is represented by a solitary form in OIA (RV *avo'ḥ* GEN. *ou*), has left only two declensional forms in Ap.: NOM.-ACC. *oi* <*ave*, cf. OP *avaiy; oha* (GEN. SG. extended to NOM.-ACC.) <**avasa*=**avasya*, OP *avahyā*.

§85. The far demonstrative *ada-* (*asa-, ama-*) has the following declensional forms:

SG.: NOM. MC.-FM. P *asu* <**aso* or **asaḥ*; Amg. *aso*, Pkt. *aho* (Krama.) <*asau*; P *amu* (MC. only), Pkt. *amū* (gram.) <**amūḥ*. NOM.-ACC. NT. P *adum* <*adas* + *-m*. Pkt. *amuṃ* (gram.). ACC. MC.-FM. P, Pkt. (gram.) *amuṃ* <*amūm*. INSTR. MC. P *amunā*, Pkt. *amuṇā* <*amunā*; INSTR. FM. P *amuyā* <*amuyā*. ABL. MC. P *amumhā, amusmā* <*amuṣmāt*. Pkt. (gram.) *amūo, amūu* <*amutaḥ*; ABL. FM. P *amuyā* (see INSTR.). GEN. MC. P, Pkt. (gram.) *amussa* <*amuṣya*. Pkt. (gram.) *amuṇo* <**amunaḥ*; GEN. FM. P *amussā* <*amuṣyāḥ*, *amuyā* <**amuyāḥ* (see Instr.). LOC. MC. P *amumhi, amussiṃ*, Pkt. (grah.) *amummi* <*amusmin*. Ap. *aammi* <**adasmin*; LOC. FM. P *amussaṃ* <*amuṣyām*, *amuyaṃ* <**amuyām*.

PL.: NOM.-ACC. MC.-FM. P *amū* <*amūḥ* (FM.), *amuyo* (FM. only) <**amuyaḥ*. Mah. *amī* <*amī* (MC.). Pkt. *amuṇo* (MC. *only*) <**amunaḥ*, *amūo* (also *amūu*) <**amūyaḥ*. Pkt. (gram.) *ahā* <**asāḥ* (MC.PL.) or **asāni* (NT. PL.) from a base **asa-*. NOM.-ACC. NT. P *amūni*, Pkt. (gram.) *amūṇi, amūiṃ* <*amūni*, **amū* + *im*. INSTR. P. Pkt. *amuhi* <*amūbhiḥ* (FM.). GEN. P *amūsaṃ* <*amūṣāṃ* (FM.), *amūsāṇaṃ* (*amūṣām* + *-nāni*); Pkt. *amūṇa* (gram.) <**amūnām*. LOC. P, Pkt. *amūsu* <*amūṣu* (FM.).

The extended bases, P *asuka-* (<**aso-* + *-ka*) and P, Amg. *amuka-*, follow the pattern of the *-a* declension.

35. The change of *-v-* > *-m-* is probably influenced by the second personal pronoun.

36. GEIGER § 107.4.

4. The Relative Pronoun

§86. The relative pronoun *ya-* follows the declensional pattern of the demonstrative *ta-* (*sa-*).

Nom. sg. mc. A (G, S, M), Khar. D, N, P *yo*, Pkt. *jo* <*yaḥ*. A (M, K, D, J, Pillar Edicts) (*y*)*e*, A (Minor Rock Edicts) *e*; Khar. D, P *ye*; Pkt., Ap. *je* <*yaḥ*. N *yaṃ* (only before *ca*): see nt. Ap. *jehe* <**yeṣaḥ* (cf. *eṣaḥ*).

Sg.: Nom. fm. A (D, J) (*y*)*ā*, A (T) *yā*; A (S, M), Khar. D *ya*; P *yā*; Pkt., Ap. *jā* <*yā*. Ap. *jehiṃ* (from Instr. pl.). N *yo* (see mc.), *yaṃ* (before *ca*: see nt.). Nom.-Acc. nt. A (G, K) *ya* <*yad*. A (S, M, K), U,[37] P *yaṃ*, Pkt., Ap. *jaṃ*, A (G, K, S, M, Minor Rock Edicts) *ya*(*ṃ*),[38] *A* (K, D, J, s) *aṃ*[39] <*yaṃ* (Acc. mc. for Nom.-Acc. nt., after the analogy of the *-a* stems). A (S, M, J, T), N *yo*, Ap. *ju* <*yaḥ* (mc.) Ap. *jehu* <**yeṣaḥ*, *jruṃ*[40] (Krama.). Acc. mc.-fm. Khar. D *ya*, P *yaṃ*, Pkt. *jaṃ* <*yām*. Instr. mc.-nt. A (M, K, D, J, T, etc.), Khar. D. N, P *yena*; Pkt., Ap. *jeṇa*(*ṃ*), Ap. *jeṃ* (*je*), A (D, J, T) *ena* <*yena*. Pkt. *jiṇā* <**yinā* (cf. RV. *anā*). Instr. Abl. fm. P *yāya* (cf. Av. *āya*=RV. *ayā*). Abl. mc.-nt. P *yamhā*, *yasmā* <*yasmāt*. Gen. mc.-nt. A (G, S, M), Khar. D *yasa*, A (K) *asā*, A (D, J) *asa*, N *yasya*, P *yassa* <*yasya*. Ap. *jāha*, Mg. *yāha* <**yāsa*=*yasya*. Ap. *jāsu* (also fm.) <**yasyaḥ* or *yāsu* (Loc. pl.). Gen. fm. P *yassā* <*yasyāḥ*, *yāya* (see Instr.-Abl.). Pkt. *jāe* <**yāyai*, *jīe* <**yiyai*, *jīā* <**yiyāḥ*, *jī* <**yiyaḥ*, *yissā* <**yiṣyāḥ*, *jise* <**yiṣyai*. Ap. *jāsu* (see mc.), *jāhe* <**yas*(*y*)*ai*. Loc. mc.-nt. P *yamhi*, *yasmiṃ*; BS. *jahiṃ*; Amg. *jaṃsi* <*yasmim*. Ap. *jahiṃ jahi* <**yabhim*; *jāe*, *jīe* (see fm.), *jadru* (Krama.). Loc. fm. P *yassā* (Gen. for Loc.), *yāya* (Instr.-Abl. for Loc.); Ap. *yassammi* <*yasya*-+-*smin*; *jāe*, *jīe* (see Gen.).

37. Before *ca* only.
38. Acc. only.
39. Nom. only.
40. As an adverb.

PL. NOM. MC. A (G, K, S, M, D, J, T, etc.) *ye*, (M, K, D, J, jtr.) *e;* P, N *ye;* Pkt. Ap. *je;* Ap. *ji* <*yaḥ*. A (ru) *yā* <*yāḥ* (FM.) or *yāni* (NT.). N *yo* (see SG.). NOM. FM. A (G) *yā*, (S, M) *ya*, P *yā*, Pkt. *jā* <*yāḥ*. P *yāo* <**yāyaḥ*. NOM.-ACC. NT. A (G, T, etc.) *yāni*,[3] (D, J) *āni*, P *yāni* <*yāni*. Amg. *jāim* <*yā* (RV) +*īm*, *ji* (cf. *trī* RV.), INSTR. MC.-FM. Ap. *jehi* <*yebhiḥ* (RV). GEN. MC.-NT. A (G), P *yesaṃ;* A (K, M) *yeṣaṃ;* A (S), Khar. D, N *yeṣa* <*yeṣām*. P *yeṣānaṃ* <*yeṣām* + *-nām*. Amg. *jesi* (*ṃ*) <**yesim;* Ap. *yahāṃ* <**yasām*. Pkt.; Ap. *jāṇa* (*ṃ*) <**yāṇām*. GEN. FM. Amg. *yasim* (see MC.). LOC. MC. A (S) *yesu*, (M) *yeṣu*, (K) *yeśu* <*yeṣu*.

5. THE INTERROGATIVE—INDEFINITE PRONOUN

§87. The interrogative-indefinite pronoun *ka-* already shows the variants *ki-*, *kī* in OIA; but *ki- kī*, in OIA, unlike MIA, are never specifically feminine. The declension of *ka-* (and of its extended and compounded variants) is given below.

SG.: NOM. MC. A (G, S), N, P *koci;* A (S) *kaci*, N *kac''i;* A (M) *keci* <*kaḥ cit*, *kaścit*. A (K) *kecha* <*kaḥ* + *kaśca*. Khar. D, N, P, Pkt. *ko;* P, Pkt. *ke* <*kaḥ*. Ap. *kehe* <**kayasaḥ* (=*kayasya*[41]) or **kaṣaḥ*. NOM. FM. Khar. D *ka* <*kā*. P *kāci* <*kācit*. Ap. *kehī* (see *yehī*). NOM.-ACC. NT. A (J), N, P *kiṃ* <*kim*. A (G) *kiṃci*, (G, S, M, K, D), Khar. D *kici*, (D, J) *kiṃchi*, (bh) *keṃci*, (M, K, D, J, kq) *kichi*, N, P *kiṃci* <*kiṃcit*. A (G), N *ki* <**kit* (cf. Gk. *tí*) or *kim* or *kīḥ* (cf. RV *-kīh* in *nakīḥ* and *mākīḥ*). N *kiṃca* <*kiṃca*. A (M) *ka* <*kat* or *kam;*[42] A (G, S, K, J, br) *kaṃ* <*kaṃ*. N *kac''i* (see MC.), *kiṃna* (see Instr.). ACC. MC.-FM. P, Pkt. *kaṃ* <*kām*. INSTR. P. *kena* <*kena;* A (su) *kenapi* <*kena* + *api;* A (T) *kinasu*, P *kenassu* <*kena* + **su* (cf. Vedic *svit* = *su* + *it*). N *kiṃna*,[43] Pkt. *kinā* <**kinā*, *kena*. Ap. *keṇu* <**kenaḥ*.[44] ABL. A (D, J) *akasmā*[45] <*akasmāt*.

41. Indefinite; in RV with *-cit* only.
42. Adverbial particle in Vedic (*kám*, *kam*).
43. Used as Nom.
44. ABL.-GEN. with the secreted ending *-nas* added to the base **ke-*. See Pkt. *kiṇo* (Abl.).
45. Used as adverb.

P *kasmā*, Pkt. *kamhā* <*kasmāt*. P *kismā* <**kiṣmāt*. Pkt. *kiṇo* <*kinaḥ*,[46] *katto* <*kāt* (old NT. SG.) + -*tas*, *ka(d)o* <**kataḥ*, *kāo* <**kātaḥ*. Ap. *kaü* <**kataḥ*, *kāhaṃ* <*kā* + -*ham* (adverbial). GEN. MC.-NT. N *kasyaci* <*kasya cit*; P, Pkt. *kassa* <*kasya*, Pkt. *kāsa*, Mg. *kāha*, Ap. *kāsu*, *kāhe* <**kāsa(ḥ)*. P *kissa ssu* <**kīṣya su*; Maḥ. *kīsa*, Mg. *kīśa* <**kīṣ(y)a*; Ap. *kise* (see FM.). GEN. FM. Pkt. *kissā* <**kīṣyāḥ*; *kīse* <**kīṣyai*; *kīa* <*kī-yāḥ*; *kīe*, *kīi*, <**ki-yai*. LOC. MC.-NT. P *kamhi kassiṃ*; Mah. *kammi*; Ś *kassiṃ*; Amg. *kamhi*, *kaṃsi* <*kasmin*. Pkt. *kahiṃ* <**kabhim*. P *kimhi*, *kismiṃ* <**kiṣmin*. LOC. BS *kahiṃ*, *kuhaṃ*; Pkt. *kahiṃ* (adverbial origin). FM. Pkt. *kāe* <**kāyai*; *kīa*, *kīe* (see Gen.); *kāhiṃ* <**kābhim*,

PL.: NOM.-ACC. MC. N *kec"i*[47] (= *keści* miswritten for *keci*) <*ke cit*. A (T, J, Rdh.) *kāni* (Acc. only): see NT. NOM.-ACC. NT. A (T, J, Rdh.) *kāni* <*kāni*, (T) *kāni ci* <*kāni cit*. Ap. *kāiṃ* <*kā* + *īm* (*im*).

GEN. PL. Pkt. *kāṇa(ṃ)* <**kānām*, *kiṇa* <*kīnām*, *kesiṃ* <**keṣim*.

§88. The palatalised base *ca*- (in indefinite sense) has no inflected form in OIA. In Av. it is fully inflected in SG. MIA has inherited three inflected forms; viz. A (bh) *caṃ* (<IE. * q^w*em*, Latin *quem*; Nasik Cave Inscr. *casa*, N *casa* <IE. * q^w*eso*, Gk. *téo*, Old Slavic *ceso*, Goth. *hwis*; cf. Av. *cahyā*), and Pallava Inscr. *casi* (generally accepted as *ca* + *asi*) <IE.* q^w*esi*, Gk. (Doric) *peĩ*.

§89. MIA has four extended indefinite bases, beside *kam-ca(na)*, *kiṃca(na)*: **kima*-, **kama*-, **kina*- (cf. Gk. *tinos*, *tína*) and **kamana*-. **kima*- and **kama*- came from the Acc. SG. *kim* and *kam* with the affix -*a*, or from the bases *ki*- and *ka*- with the affix -*ma*. This happens in OIA (<IIr) also: *ima*- <**im*[48] (cf. RV FM. *īm*, NT. *it*) or *i*- + -*ma*;

46. See Ap. *kinu* (Instr.).
47. For the three genders.
48. *im* has survived in N in the two emphatic negative phrases: *na iṃci*, *ma iṃci*. BURROW derives *im* from *kim* (p. 36).

ama- (as in RV Nom. sg. *ámaḥ*, Instr. sg. *amā*, Abl. sg. *amāt*) <**am* + *-a* (or *a-* + *-ma*); *sama-* (RV, indefinite pronoun) <**sam* + *-a* (or *sa-* + *-ma*); *siṃa-* <**sim* (cf. OP *sīm*) + *-a* (or **si-* + *-ma*). *kina-* <*ki-* + *na* (cf. Av. *cina-*, P *kañcinaṃ*)[49] *kamana-*[50] <*kam* + *-a* (or *ka-* + *-ma*) + *-na*.

The declension of these bases is as follows:

Sg.: Nom.-Acc. nt. A (T, etc.) *ki(ṃ)maṃ* <**kimam*. N *kikama* <*ki(ṃ) kama(ṃ)* <**kamam*. N *k'ema*, Ap. *kema, kima, kiva* <**kemam*, **kimam*. N *kiṃna* <**kinam*; Pkt. *kiṇo* (interrogative particle, originally mc.) <**kinaḥ*. *Ap. kimpa* (Krama.) <**kimbam* <**kim(m)am*, *kamaṇu* (see mc.). Nom. mc. N *k'ema* <**kemaḥ* or **kimaḥ* (see nt.), *kiṃna* <**kinah* (see nt.). Ap. *kavaṇu*[50] <**kamanaḥ*. Nom. fm. Ap. *kavaṇa* <**kamanā*. Instr. Pkt. *kiṇā* <*ki* + *-nā* or **kina-* + *-ā*. Cf. A (T) *kinasu*. Ap. *kavaṇeṇa* <**kamanena*. Gen. Ap. *kavaṇahe* <**kamanasaḥ*, *kavaṇaha* <**kamaṇasa*.

§90. The enclitic indefinite particles *cit*, *ca* and *cana* have become welded to the preceding pronoun; e.g. A (K) *kecha*, (D, J) *kiṃchi*, Khar. D *keja* <*kaḥ* (for *kím*) *ca*, *yaji* <*yat cit*. *kijana-* <*kiñcana* has become a noun in Khar. D (e.g. *kijaneṣu*).

§91. The reflexive pronoun *sva-* occurs mostly in Nom. sg. which is used for all numbers and genders. The extended base *svaka-*, a reflexive adjective, is slightly better represented. Nom. sg. BS *svakam*=*svayam*.

Nom. sg.-pl. A (G) *svayaṃ*; N *sveya(ṃ)*, *sve*, *svaya* <*svayam*. Instr. sg. P *sakena* <*svakena*. Abl. sg. P *samhā* <*svasmāt*, *sakamhā* <**svakasmāt*. Amg. *sāo* <**svā(t)* + *-tas*. Loc. sg. P *samhi*, Amg. *saṃsi* <*svasmin*. A (S) *svakaspi* <**svakasmin*. Acc. pl. P *sake* <**svake*. Instr. pl. Amg. *saehiṃ* <**svakebhim*.

49. Acc. sg.; *Therīgāthā* (Geiger §111 i.).
50. Generally supposed to have come from *ka-* + *punar*.

§92. In the oblique cases only *ātman-* (as sometime in Vedic) and *tanu-* (as in RV) occur as reflexive adjectives.

The latter, with its extended base **tanvaka-* occurs in N and in the North-western Inscriptions.

6. Pronominal Adjectives

§93. The pronominal adjectives follow the pattern of the noun. But while the noun in its oblique cases generally follows the pronominal declension the pronominal adjectives prefer the specific nominal endings. This tendency is already emergent in Vedic; e.g. RV *viśvāya* (Dat. sg.), *viśvāt* (Abl. sg.), *viśvāt* (Abl. sg.), *viśve* (Loc. sg.). AV *eke* (Loc. sg.) etc. *anya-* (with its reciprocal iterative variant **anya-m-anya-*) and *sarva-* are the typical pronominal adjectives in MIA. Their early declensional forms are given below.

(1) *anya-, anya-m-anya-*:

Sg.: Nom. mc. A (K, D, J, T) *aṃne*, (G) *añe*, (S) *aṃñi*, (M) *aṇe* <*anyaḥ*. Nom.-Acc. nt. A (G) *aña*, (J) *aṃna* <*anyat*; A (S) *añaṃ* <*anyam* = *anyat*; A (M) *añe*, *aṇe*; (K, D, J, *kq*) *aṃne* (mc. for nt.). Dat. A (G) *añāya* <**anyāya*; A (S, M) *añaye*, (M) *aṇaye*, (K, D, J) *aṃnāye* <**anyāyai*. Gen. mc.nt. A (G. S) *a(ṃ)ña- ma(ṃ)ñasa*, (M) *aṇamaṇasa*, (K) *aṃnamaṃnaṣā*, P *aññamaññassa* <**anyamanyasya*. N *aṃñasa* <**anyasa(ḥ)*, *aṃnisya* <**anyiṣya*. Gen. fm. P *aññissā* <**anyiṣyāḥ*. Loc. mc.-nt. A (G) *añamhi* <*anyasmin*. P *aññamaññamhi*.

Pl.: Nom. mc. A (S, M, G) *añe*, (K) *ane*, (K, D) *aṃne*, N *aṃñe*, P *aññe* <*anye*. Nom.-Acc. nt. A (G) *añāni*, (S, M) *añáni*, (K, D, J, T, etc.) *aṃnāni* <*anyāni*. Instr. P *añña-maññehi*. Gen. A (T) *aṃnānaṃ*, N *aṃñana* (in *aṃnano va* 590) <**anyānām*. N *aṃnamaṃnana*, Khar. D *añeṣa*, N *aṃnesa*, P *aññesaṃ* < *anyeṣām*. N *aṃneṣana* (double suffixation). Amg. *amnesiṃ* <**anyṣim*. Loc. A (D, T) *aṃnesu* <*anyeṣu*.

(2) *sarva-*;

SG.: NOM. MC. A (G, D, T) *save*, (G) *sarve* <*sarvaḥ*. NOM. FM. A (K) *ṣavā*, (S, M) *savra* <*sarvā*. NOM.-ACC. NT. A (S, G, K, D, J) *savaṃ*, (S) *savraṃ*, (K) *ṣava(ṃ)*, (G) *sarvaṃ*, Khar. D *sava* <*sarvam*. A (G) *sarve*, (S, M) *savre*, (K, D, J, bh) *save*, (K) *ṣave* <*sarvaḥ* (MC. for NT.). ACC. MC. A (S, K, D, J) *savaṃ*, (S, M) *savram*, Khar. D *sarva* <*sarvam*. INSTR. MC.-NT. A (D, J) *savena* <*sarveṇa*, (J) *saveṇā* <*sarveṇa*, *sarveṇā*. GEN. MC.-NT. A (D, J) *savasa* <*sarvasya*. GEN. FM. Mathura Stone Inscr. of Huvishka *sarvayi* <**sarvāyai*. LOC. MC.-NT. A (T) *savasi* <*sarvasmin*. LOC. FM. P *sabbāya* <**sarvāya*.

PL.: NOM. MC. A (G, K, D, J, S) *save*, (S, M) *savre*, Khar. D *sa(r)vi*, N *sarvi*, P *sabbe* <*sarve*. ACC. FM. Khar. D *sarva* (B 8) <*sarvāḥ*. INSTR. N *sarvehi* <*sarvebhiḥ*. GEN. MC.-NT. Wardak Vase Inscr., N *sarvina*, Mah. *sarviṇa* <**sarviṇām*, P *sabbesaṃ* <*sarveṣām*, *sabbesānaṃ* <*sarveṣām* +-*nām*. GEN. FM. P *sabbāsaṃ* <*sarvāsām*. LOC. A (G, K, D, T, T, sn) *savesu*, (S, M) *savreṣu*, (K) *ṣaveṣu* <*sarveṣu*; Khar. D *sarviṣu* <*sarveṣu* or **sarviṣu*.

(3) *eka-* follows the pattern of *sarva-*. Thus:

SG.: NOM. MC. A (G), Khar. D *eko*; A (M, K, J) *eke*, Khar. D *eki* <*ekaḥ*. A (sn) *ikike* <*ekaikaḥ*. NOM. FM. A (sn) *ikā* <*kā* (also NOM. NT.). ACC. MC., NOM.-ACC. NT. A (S, br, sd) *ekaṃ*, Khar. D *eka* <*ekam*. ACC. FM. A (sn) *ikaṃ* <*ekām*. INSTR. A (D, J) *ekena* <*ekena*. GEN. N *ekisya* <**ekiṣya*.

PL. NOM. N *eke* "some" <*eke*.

§94. The possessive pronominal adjectives,[51] with the exception of sporadic OIA survivals (or Sanskritisms) like Pkt. *maīa-* (<*madīya-*), appear only in the late Ap., and they are derivatives[114] of the personal pronominal and demonstrative stems. Thus: *mahāra-* 'my' <**mabh(y)a-*, *tuhāra-* 'thy'

51. With the affix *-ra* or *-āra*; cf. OIA *-ra* (*-la*) *-āla*: *madhura-*, *bahula-*, *śrīra-*, *śrīla-*, *rasāla-*,

<*tubh(y)a-*, *amhāra-* 'our' <*asma-*, *tumhāra-* 'your' <**tuṣma-*, *tāhara-* 'his' <**tāsa-* (Gen. used as the base). As ordinary adjectives they take up the FM. affix *-ī*.

§95. The numerical pronouns *kati* and *tati* survive in P and N respectively, and they are flexionally invariable as in Vedic.

§96. The OIA quantitative pronouns survive as adverbs and conjunctions. Thus:

kīvant- (RV): P *kīva-*, BS *keva-*, Ap. *kiva-*, *kima-* (also *kema-*).[52]

kiyant-: A (T, etc.) *kiyaṃ*.

tāva(n)t-: P *tāva*, *tāvatā* (Instr. SG.), Ap. *tāma-* (*tema-* *tima-*).[52]

yāva(n)t-: A (D, J, Rdh, Mth) *āvā* (<*yāvān* NOM. SG. MC.); A (T, Rp) *(y)āva*, A (G, K, D), *āva*; A (Mi, Ksb, Rdh, Mth), P *yāva*; P *yāvaṃ* (analogy of the *-a* stem). *yāvātā* (Instr. SG.), Ap. *jāma-* (*jema-*, *jima-*).[52]

§97. In early MIA occur quantitative adjectives formed with the affix *-taka* (with its variant *-tika*), from the quantitative pronouns in *-va(n)t*. Thus:

kīva(nt)-: P *kivatika-* 'how many'.

tāva(nt)-: A (G) *bahu-tāvatakaṃ*, (K) *bahu-tāvaṃtake* 'many times as many', (S) *bahu-tavake*. BS *tāvantara-*.

yāva(nt)-: A (G, M ru), P *yāvataka-*, A (K, bh, sn) *āvatake* 'as many'. BS *yāvantara-*.

-taka- (and its variant *-tika-*) also appears with NOM.-ACC. SG. NT. in *-t*. Thus:

**et-*: A (G, S, M, K, D, J) *etaka-*;[53] P *ettaka-*; N *eti*; Pkt. *etti(y)a-* *ittia-*; Ś, Mg. *ettika-* 'this much'.

**kit-*, **ket-*: P *kittika-* (cf. *kittāvatā* 'how far?'); N *keti*; Pkt. *ketti(y)a-* 'how much'.

52. *-m-* is perhaps due to the influence of the affix *-mant*.

53. The forms occurring are: Nom. SG. NT. *etakaṁ* (G), *etake* (S).; Nom. SG. FM. *etakā* (J); Instr. SG. *etakena* (S, M, D, J), *etakenā* (K); Dat. SG. *etakāye* (G), *etakaye* (S, M), *etakāye* (K, D).

tat-, **tet-*: P *tattaka-* (late); Mg. *tettika-* 'so much'.
**yet-*: Pkt. *jettia-*, *jittia-*; Mg. *yettika-* 'as much'.

§98. According to the grammarians *-tila* (*-tula*) is a substitute for *-taka* (*-tika*) in Ap. (sometimes in Pkt. also). Thus: *ettila- ettilliya-*, *ettula-*; *jettila-*, *jettula-*; *tettila-*, *tettula-*.

§99. The compounds in *-dṛś* and *dṛkṣa* occur in P mostly; e.g. *idi* <*īdṛk*, *kidi* <*kīdṛk* (*kīdṛṅ*), *tādi* <*tādṛk*; *idikkha-* (Amg. *elikkha-*, *elikkhaya-*) <*īdṛkṣa-*. The compounds in *-dṛśa* occur throughout. Thus:

ī-: P *īdisa(ka)-*, *īrisa-*; Pkt. *ī(d)isa-*, *īrisa(a)-* <*īdṛś(ka)-*.

e-*: A (S, M) *ediśa-*, N *etriśa*; P *edisa(ka)-*, *erisa-*; Pkt. *erisa- elisa-*, *erisia*, *erisaya-* <edṛśa(ka)-*, **edṛśika-*.

etā-: A (G) *etārisa-*, P *etādisa(ka)-*, <*etādṛśa(ka)-*.

kā-: Ap. *kaisa-* <**kādzśa-*.

kī: P *kīdisa-*, *kirisa-*; Mg. *kītiśa-* <*kīdṛśa-*.

kim-: P *kiṃdisa-* <**kiṃdṛśa-*.

ke-*: N *ketriśa*, Mg. *keliśa*, Pkt. *kerisa(ya)-* <kedṛśa(ka)-* or **kayadṛśa(ka)-*.

ket-*: Pkt. *keddasa-*[56] <keddṛśa-*.

tā-: A (G) *tārisa-*, (K, D, J) *tādisa-*, (S, M) *tadiśa-*; P *tādisa(ka)-*; Ap. *taïsa-*, *taḍāsa-* (Krama.)[54] <*tādṛśa(ka)-*.

tet-*: Pkt. *teddaha* <tedṛśa-*.

(y)ā-: A (K) *ādisa-* (K, D, J) *ādisa-*,[55] (M) *adiśa-*; Ap. *aïsa-*; N *yadṛśa*; P *yādisa(ka)-*; Ap. *jaïsa-*, *jaḍāsa-*[56] (Kram.).

yet-*: Pkt. *jeddaha* <yedṛśa-*.

§100. In late Ap. *kehi*, *tehi* and *jehi* often stand for *kaïsa-*, *taïsa-* and *jaïsa-* respectively.

54. *tādṛśa-* > **tādraśa-* > *taḍāsa-*
55. May be from **ādṛśa-* as well.
56. Correlative of *taḍāsa* (q.v.).

§101. The affix *-dṛśa-* appears with the person pronoun only in P; e.g. *mādisa-*, *mārisa-* <*mādṛśa-* 'like me'; *amhādisa-* <*asmā- dṛśa-* 'like us'; *tādisa-* <*tvādṛśa-* 'like thee'; *tumhādisa-* = *yuṣmādṛśa-* 'like you'.

7. Pronominal Adverbs

§102. The pronominal adverbs of place, time and manner are formed with various affixes beginning in a dental.[57] Thus:

-tas (Abl.): A (S) *ato* <*ataḥ* or *yataḥ;* N *adehi* <*ataḥ* + **bhim;* A (T, etc.) *ite,* N *itu,* Ś *ido* <*itaḥ;* A (G, K, S, M) *tato,* Ś *tado,* Ap. *tao* > *to* <*tataḥ;* Pkt. *tatto* <*tat-taḥ, tado;* Pkt. *etto* <**ettaḥ;* Ś *edo* <**etaḥ, edādu* <**etātaḥ;* N *imade* <**imataḥ;* Pkt. *kado* <**kataḥ,* katto **kattaḥ.*

-tra (Loc.): A (M) *atra,* N atra (*atremi*[58]) <*atra.* A (S) *etra* <**etra.* Pkt. *jattha,* Ap. *jadru* (Krama.) <*yatra.* A (G, S, M, K) *tatra,* (K) *tatā,* (G) *tatrā, tata;* N *tatra, tatremi, tatrimi,*[58] Pkt. *tattha,* Ap. *tadru* (Krama.) <*tatra.*

-tha: A (S, M, K) *atha,* Pkt. *aha* <*atha.* A (G, D, T) *tatha,* Pkt. *taha* <**tatha;* Ap. *tidha* <**titha.* Pkt. *jaha* <**yatha;* Ap. *jidha* <**yitha.* Pkt. *kaha* <**katha.*

-tham (as in *ittham, katham*): A (S, M) *tathaṃ,* (M) *yathaṃ,* (K) *athaṃ;* A (T) *kathaṃ,* Pkt. *kahaṃ.* Ap. *tāhaṃ* <**tātham.*

-thā: A (K, D, J, T etc.) *athā* <*yathā* or RV *athā.* A (G, K, T, sd) *yathā,* (S) *yatha.* A (S, M) *tatha,* (G, K, D, J, T etc.) *tathā.* N *aṃnyatha,* P *aññathā* <*anyathā.*

-thu (as in RV *mithu*): N *iṃthu* (*iṃthuami*[59]) <**iṃthu.* Ap. *ethu, kethu, jethu, tethu.*

57. Old survivals are A (K) *idāni,* (S, M) *idani,* (ru, mk) *dāni;* P *dāniṃ;* Pkt. *dāṇiṃ;* <*idānīm;* A (K) *kuvāpi* <*kvāpi.*
58. With affix *-mi,* probably from Loc. SG.
59. With Loc. SG. ending added.

-*dā*: A (D, J) *adā*, (G) *yadā*, (S) *yada* <*yādā*. A (G, K, D) *tadā*, (S, M) tada. A (G) *ekadā*. P *kudā* <**kudā* (cf. *kuha*).

-*dha* (as in RV *adha*): A (G, br.) *idha*, (S, M) *i(h)a*, (S, M, K, D, J, T, ru) *hida*, (K) *hidā*; N *iśa*; Pkt. (Ś) *idha* <IIr. **idha* (OIA *iha*).

-*dham* (as in *sārdham?*): A (M) *hidam* <**idham*.

-*dhi*[60] (or *-*thi*[61]): Ap. *jahi*, *tahi*, *ettahi*, *annattahi* <**anyatradhi*.

-*nīm*: *dānim* <*idānīm* (cf. *sardānīm*, *tadānīm*); Pkt. *eṇhiṃ* 'now'.

-*he*: Pkt. *ettāhe*, A *ettahe* 'now'; Pkt., Ap. *jāhe* 'when', *tāhe* 'then'; Ap. *tettahe* 'then'.

60. As in *adhi*.
61. As in OP *aϑiy*.

Chapter VI

THE NUMERAL

1. The Cardinals

§103. The cardinal numerals in MIA are treated and inflected as substantives. Inflected forms other than the Nom-Acc. are rare for numerals above ten.

§104. One: A *eka-* (*ika-*), N *eka-* (=*ekka-*), P *eka-*, Pkt. *ekka-*, Amg. *eka-* <*eka-*, **ekya-*. As a numeral it is declined in sg.; in pl. *eka-* means 'some'. The declension is as follows:

Sg.: Nom. mc. A (G) *eko*, (M, K, J) *eke*; Khar. D *eka*, *eki*; N *eka* <*ekaḥ*. Nom. fm. A (sn) *ikā* <*ekā*. Nom.-Acc. nt.; Acc. mc. A (S, br, sd) *ekaṃ*; Pkt. *ekkaṃ*. Acc. fm. A (sn) *ikaṃ* <*ekām*. Instr. mc.-nt. A (D, J) *ekena*; Amg. *ekkeṇaṃ*, *egeṇaṃ*. Gen. mc-nt. P *ekassa*; Mg. *ekkāha*. Gen. fm. P *ekissā* <**ekiṣyāḥ*. Loc. mc.-nt. P *ekasmim*; Amg. *egaṃsi*, *egammi*; Mah. *ekkammi*; Ś *ekkassiṃ*; Ap. *ekkahiṃ* (also fm.).

Pl.: Nom. mc. N *eke* (=*ekke*); P *eke*; Amg. *ege*; Mah. *ekke* <*eke*. Gen. mc. Amg. *egesi*(ṃ).

(1) The extended stem *ekaka-* is represented by A (J) *ekakena* (Instr. sg.) and the iterative compound *ekaika-* by A (sn) *ikike* (Nom. sg. mc.).

(2) The derivative base *ekatya-*[1] 'some' has the following inflected forms:

Nom. sg. mc. P. *ekacciyo*. fm. P *ekacciyā*.

Acc. sg. mc. P *ekacciyaṃ*.

Nom. pl. mc. A (G) *ekacā*, (M) *ekatiya*, (K, D, J) *ekatiyā*; P *ekacciyā* <**ekatyāḥ*. A (S) *ekatīe* <**ekatye*.

1. Cf. Av. *bitya-* <**dvitya-*, *θritya-* <-**tritya-*; N *bīti*, *triti*, *ekatya-* occurs in Divyāvadāna.

(3) As the first number in a numerical compound *eka-* is either *eka-* or *ekka-*, but in a non-numerical compound it is invariably *eka-* (e.g. A *ekapulisa-*, *ekamunisa-*). In A *ẹkatara-* (*ekatala-*) <*ekatara-* occurs in the sense of 'some'.

§105. Two: *dva-* (*dvi-*). The stem has two distinct syllabic values, (i) *duva-* (as in RV *duvā*, OP *duvitā*) and (ii) *dva-*. The MIA forms show both the values of the semivowel, the disyllabic value in such forms as *du*(*v*)*e*, *du*(*v*)*i*, *du* and the monosyllabic value in such forms as *dvo*, *dve*, *dvi*, *do*, *be* (<**dbe*) etc. The FM.-NT. NOM.-ACC. form is in common use. The PL. declension of the stem is known in some Gk. dialects. The double nasal in the GEN. PL. ending *-nnam* (*-ṇṇaṃ*) is secreted from *caturṇām* and *ṣaṇṇām*.

NOM.-ACC A (G) *dvo* (MC.), *dve* (FM.); (M, K, J, S) *duve* (MC.- FM.); (S) *duvi* (MC.-FM.). N *dui*, *dvi*, *due*, *du*, *tui*. P *dve*, *duve*. Nanaghat Inscr. *be*. Pkt. (MC.-FM.) *do*, *du*, *duve*, *be*; (NT.) *doṇ*(*ṇ*)*i*, *beṇṇi*, *biṇṇi*. Ap. *bi*, *beṇ*(*ṇ*)*i*, *ben*(*n*)*a*,[2] *binni*. INSTR. A (T) *duvehi*; P, BS *dvīhi*; Pkt. *duvehiṃ* (Ś), *dohi*(*ṃ*), *behi*; Ap. *behiṃ*, *bihiṃ*. GEN. P d(*u*)*vinnaṃ*; Pkt. *doṇṇaṃ*,[3] *doṇhaṃ*,[4] *duṇhaṃ*, *beṇhaṃ*[4] (gram.), *duveṇam* (Ś); Ap. *bihuṃ* *beṇ*(*ṇ*)*a*.[5] LOC. P *dvīsu*; Pkt. *duvesu* (Ś), *besu*(*ṃ*) (gram.); Ap. *behiṃ*.

(1) In numerical compounds the base is d(*u*)*vā-*, and in non-numerical compounds it is generally *du-* (*do-*), rarely *di-* and more rarely *be-*. Thus: A (T etc.) *dupạda-*; N *diguna*; Pkt. *du*(*g*)*uṇa-*, *domuha-* 'double faced'; Amg. *bedoniya-* (<*dvidroṇika-*), *bendiya-* (<*dva-indriya-*); Pkt. *dotiṇṇi* = *dvitrāṇi*.

(2) The pronominal stem *ubha-* 'both' has the following declensional forms.

2. As in *beṇ*(*ṇ*)*a vi kūva paḍei* Saraha's Dohākoṣa.

3. *Cf.* Gk. (Herodotus) *duōn*.

4. Contamination of *doṇṇaṁ* (*beṇṇam*) with **dohaṁ* (**behaṁ*, cf. Ap. *bihuṁ*).

5. Used as NOM.

NOM.-ACC. Khar. D *uhu;* P *ubho, ubhe* (originally FM.-NT.) INSTR. P *ubhohi, ubhehi.* GEN. P *ubhinnaṃ.* LOC. P *ubhosu.*

(*a*) The extended base *ubhaya-* is declined in both numbers in A and P. Thus: A (S, M) *ubhayasa* (GEN. SG.), (K) *ubhayesa*[6] (GEN. PL.).

(*b*) The P stem *dubhaya-* with its fm. *dubhayinī-* shows contamination of *dva-* and *ubhaya-*.

§106. THREE: The OIA dstinction of gender is already confused in early MIA. Except as an archaism in P the FM. base *tisṛ-* is entirely lost. The NT. is predominant throughout and emerges as the only form in Ap.

NOM.-ACC. (i) A (S) *trayo,* N *tre(ya),* P *tayo* (MC.), BS *trayo* (also nt.), Pkt. *tao* <*tráyaḥ.* (ii) A (G) *t(r)ī.* (iii) A (M, K, T etc.) *ti(ṃ)ni,* P *tīni,* Nagar. *tiṃni,* Pkt. *tiṇṇi,* Ap. *tiṇṇi* <*trīṇi.* (iv) P *tisso* (FM.) <*tisraḥ.* INSTR. P *tīhi;* Nagar. *tiṃhi;* Pkt. *tīhiṃ, tihiṃ.* GEN. N *trina;* P *tiṇṇaṃ*[7] (MC.-NT.), *tissannaṃ* (FM.); Pkt. *tiṇṇaṃ, tiṇha(ṃ).* LOC. A (T etc.) *tīsu, tisu;* P *tīsu;* Pkt. *tīsu(ṃ).*

(1) As the first member of a compound the numeral appears as *traya-* (>*trai-, tre-*[8]) *tri-.* Thus: A (G) traidasa, (K, D) tredasa, (S) *tidaśa;*[9] N *trevarṣag'a* 'three-years-old'; P *tipiṭaka-;* Pkt. *teraha;* Amg. *te-indiya-.*

§107. FOUR: There is a complete mix up of the genders. The FM. base *catasṛ-* occurs as an archaism in P and Ś. The dialectal loss of *-t-* in *catur-* as early as Asokan[10] is unaccountable unless we presume a base *cavur-* resulting from a contamination between *catur-* and **tvar-* (<IIr. **ktvar-,* as in OIA *turīya-, turya-*).

6. HULTZCH.
7. Also *tiṇṇannaṁ* (double GENITIVE).
8. Cf. RV. *tredhā.*
9. See below.
10. Cf. *codasa* and *cāvudasaṁ.*

Nom. mc. (i) A (G) *catpāro* <*catvāraḥ*. (ii) A (S) *cature* <*caturaḥ* (Acc.). (iii) A (K) *catāli* <*catvāri*. Nom.-Acc. (i) Pkt. *cattāro*. (ii) Khar. D *caüri;* N *ca(h)ura;*[11] P *caturo* (mc.-fm.); Pkt. *caüro*. (iii) Khar. D *catvari;* P *cattāri* (mc.); Pkt. *cattāri;* Ap. *cāri*. (iv) N *catu* <*catur* (adv.). (v) Ś *cadasso* (fm.). Instr. P *catuhi, catūhi, catubbhi* (mc.); Pkt. *caühiṃ, caūhiṃ*. Gen. P *catuṇṇaṃ* (mc.-nt.), *catassannaṃ* (fm.); Nanaghat *catuṃnaṃ*, Pallava Grant *catuṇhaṃ;* Pkt. *caṇhaṃ*. Loc. P *catusu, catūsu;* Pkt. *caüsu*.

(1) As the first member of a compound the numeral appears as **catu-* in the non-inherited and *catur-* in the inherited compounds. Thus: P. *catukaṇṇa-* and *catugguṇa-*, Pkt. *caümuha* and *caummuha-*, etc.

§108. Five: Nom.-Acc. Khar. D *paja;* N *paṃca;* P, Pkt. *pañca*. Instr. P *pañcahi;* Pkt. *pañcahiṃ;* Ap. *pañcahiṃ*. Gen. P *pañcannaṃ;* Pkt. *pañcaṇṇaṃ;* Amg. *pañcaṇhaṃ;* Ap. *pañcahaṃ*. Loc. Khar. D *pajaṣu;* P *pañcasu;* Pkt. *pañcasu(ṃ)*.

Rāma Tarakavāgīśa (a very late grammarian) also gives the following specific fm. forms: *pañcā* (Nom.-Acc.), *pañcāhiṃ* (Instr.) and *pañcāsuṃ* (Loc.).[12]

§109. Six: Nom.-Acc. N *ṣo* (<**ṣvaž;* cf. *ṣoḍaśa*); P, Pkt. *cha*,[13] Ap. *chaha* <**ṣaṣam*. Instr. P *chahi;* Pkt. *chahiṃ*.[14] Gen. P *channaṃ;* Pkt. *chaṇṇaṃ, chaṇha(ṃ)*.[15] Loc. A (S, M, K) *ṣaṣu;* P *chassu;* P, Pkt. *chasu* (after *pañcasu*).[16]

The folowing fm. forms are also prescribed by Rāma Tarkavāgīśa: *chāo* (Nom.-Acc.), *chāhiṃ* (Instr.).

Seven: Nom.-Acc. N *sata;* P, Pkt. *satta*. Instr. BS *saptahi*, Pkt. *sattahiṃ*. Gen. P *sattānaṃ, sattannaṃ;* Pkt. *sattaṇhaṃ*. Loc. Pkt. *sattasu*.

11. For the residual *-h-* in *cahura* cf. *-v-* in A *cāvudasaṁ*.
12. Pischel §440.
13. Rāma Tarkavāgīśa adds *chā* (Pischel §441).
14. Ibid. *chaehiṁ*.
15. Ibid. *chaaṇṇaṁ*.
16. Ibid. chīsu (after *trīṣu*).

§110. EIGHT: NOM.-ACC. N *aṭha;* P, Pkt., Ap. *aṭṭha;* Pkt. *aḍha;* Ap.[17] *aṭṭhaïṃ, aṭṭhāā.* INSTR. P *aṭṭhāhi, aṭṭhahi;* Pkt. *aṭṭhahiṃ.* GEN. Pkt. *aṭṭhaṇha(ṃ).*

§111. NINE: NOM.-ACC. Kharavela *navá;* N *no;* P *nava;* Pkt. *ṇava.* INSTR. Pkt. *navahim.* GEN. Amg. *navaṇha(ṃ).*

§112. TEN: NOM.-ACC. A (S, M)[1] *daśa;* A (G, K, D, J),[18] N, P, Pkt., Ap. *dasa;* Pkt. Ap. *daha.* INSTR. P *dasa(b)hi;* Pkt. *dasahi(ṃ);* Mg. *daśehiṃ.* GEN. Pkt. *dasānaṃ, dasaṇha(ṃ);* Mg. *daśānaṃ.* LOC. Pkt. *dasasu.*

§113 ELEVEN: P *ekādasa, ekārasa;* Amg. *ekkārasa, ikkārasa;* Mah., Ap. *eāraha;* Ap. *eggāraha.*

TWELVE: A (D) *duvādasa;* A (K, T etc.) *duvāḍasa,* (J) *duvādasa,* (M) *duvaḍaśa,* (G) *dbādasa,* (S) *badaya;* Jetavanārāma Inscr. (Ceylon) *doḷasa;* P *dvādasa;* Nanaghat, P, Pkt. *bārasa;* Amg. (also JM) *duvālasa;* Mah., Ap. *bāraha.*

THIRTEEN: A (G) *traidasa,* (M) *tredaśa,* (K, D) *tedasa,* (S) *tidaśa*[19]; N *trodasa;* Nanaghat, P, Amg. *terasa;* P *telasa;* Mah., Ap. *teraha.*

FOURTEEN: A (ng.) *codasa;* P *cuddasa, catuddasa;* Pkt. *coddasa, coddaha, caüddasa;* Ap. *caüddaha, cāu(d)daha, daha-cāri*[20] (also *cāri-daha*).

FIFTEEN: Kharavela *paṃdarasa;* Nasik Cave Inscr. *panarasa;* N *paṃcadasa;* P *pañcadasa, pannarasa;* P, Amg., JM *paṇṇarasa;* Ap. *paṇṇaraha daha-pañca*[20] (also *daha-pañcaïṃ*[21]).

SIXTEEN: P, Pkt. soḷasa; P sorasa; Ap. soḷaha, soḷā.

SEVENTEEN: P *sattadasa;* P, Pkt. *sattarasa;* Ap. *daha-satta.*[20]

EIGHTEEN: P *aṭṭhādasa;* P, Pkt. *aṭṭhārasa;* Ap. *aṭṭhāraha.*

17. With the PL. endings.
18. Only as the first member of compounds.
19. From *trī dáśa,* cf. GK, *tría kai déka.*
20. Cf. Gk. *déka dúo,* Latin *decem novem,* etc.
21. With the NT. PL. ending.

NINETEEN: A (bb) *ekunavīsati;* P *ekunavīsa (ti)*; Amg. *eguṇavīsaṃ, aüṇavīsaṃ; aüṇvīsaĩ;* Ap. *eguṇaviṃsā, ṇavadaha.*[20]

TWENTY: A (rm, ng), P *vīsati;* N *viśati;* Pkt. *vīsa (ṃ), vīsā;* Pkt. *vīsaī, vīsaïṃ;* Ap. *vīsa.*[22]

TWENTY-TWO: P *dvāvīsa (ti)*, *bāvīsa (ti)*; Pkt. *bāvīsaṃ;* Ap. *bāisa.*

TWENTY-THREE: P *tevīsa;* Pkt. *tevīsaṃ;* Ap. *teisa.*

TWENTY-FOUR: P *catuvīsa;* Pkt. *caüv (v) īsaṃ;* Ap. *cauvīsa, covīsa.*

TWENTY-FIVE: A (T etc.) *paṃnavīsati;* P *pañcavīsa, paṇṇavīsati, paṇṇuvīsa*[23]; Pkt. *paṇavīsaṃ, paṇuvīsaṃ,*[23] *panuvīsā (hi)*[23]; Ap. *pacīsa.*

TWENTY-SIX: A (T etc.) *saḍuvīsati;*[24] Pkt. *chavvīsaṃ;* Ap. *chavvīsa, chahavīsa.*[25]

TWENTY-SEVEN: A (T) *satavīsati;* Pkt. *sattavīsaṃ, sattāvisaṃ, sattāvīsā;* Ap. *sattāīsa.*

TWENTY-EIGHT: Pkt. *aṭṭhāvīsaṃ, aṭṭhāvīsā;* Ap. *aṭṭhāisa, aṭhāisā*

THIRTY: N *triśa;* P *tiṃsa (ṃ)*, *tiṃsā, tiṃsati;* Pkt., Ap. *tīsaṃ, tīsā*[26]; Ap. *tīsa.*

THIRTY-TWO: P *dvattiṃsa, battiṃsa;* Pkt. *battīsaṃ, battīsā;* Mah. *do-soḷaha;* Ap. *battīsa.*

THIRTY-THREE: Pkt. *tettīsaṃ;* Amg. *tāyattīsā*[26], *tāvattīsaga.*

THIRTY-FOUR: Pkt. *cottīsaṃ.*

THIRTY-FIVE: Kharavela *panatīsāhi* (INSTR.); Pkt. *paṇatīsaṃ.*

22. Like Gk. *īkati* the numeral generally does not show the nasal of OIA. *viṃśati* in MIA.

23. *Cf.* A (T etc.) *saḍuvīsati.*

24. *-u-* is glidic.

25. *-ha-* comes from the original base extended by *-a-*: IE. **s(w)eks-* >*IIr.* **s(v)ashsh-* >*OIA. ṣaṣ-. Cf.* Bengali *chay* 'six'.

26. The FM. ending of *vīsā, tīsā etc.* are reminiscent of the gender of *viṃśati, triṃśat* etc.

THIRTY-SIX: P *chattiṃsa;* Pkt. *chattīsaṃ, chattīsā.*

FORTY: N *caparíśa;* P *cattārīsa* (*ṃ*), *cattārīsā, cattālīsa* (*ṃ*), *cattālīsā, taīsa* (*ṃ*),[27] *tālīsa.* Pkt. *cattālīsaṃ, cattālīsa, cayālīsaṃ;* Pkt. Ap. *cālīsa.*

FORTY-TWO: N *du-caparíśa;* Amg. *bāyālīsaṃ* <*dvā* (*k*) *tāríśa-.*

FORTY-FIVE: Amg. *paṇayālīsaṃ, paṇayālīsā;* Ap. *pacatālisa.*

FORTY-EIGHT: Ap. *aḍhatālīsaṃ.*

FIFTY: N *paṃcaśa;* P *paññāsa* (*ṃ*), *paññāsā;* Pkt. *paṇṇāsaṃ, paṇṇāsā, pannā.*

FIFTY-SIX: A (s) *sapamñā* (*sa*); P *chappaññāsa.*

FIFTY-EIGHT: Ap. *vahiṃ unī saṭṭhi* 'two less sixty.'

SIXTY: P *saṭṭhi;* Pkt. *saṭṭhi* (*ṃ*).

SIXTY-THREE: *Ap. tevaṭṭhim,*

SEVENTY: P *satati;* Nāgārjuni *sattari;* P *sattari, sattati;* Amg. *sattariṃ, sayarī.*

SEVENTY-ONE: Pkt. *ekkasattariṃ;* Ap. *ehattari.*

SEVENTY-TWO: Ap. *bāvattari.*

SEVENTY-FIVE: Kharavela *pānatarīhi*[28] (INSTR.).

EIGHTY: P *asīti;* Amg. *asīiṃ, asīī;* Ap. *asi.*

NINETY: N *novati;* P *navuti;* Amg. *naüiṃ, naüī.*

ONE HUNDRED: A (S, M, K) *śata-,* (ru, s) *sata-;* Khar. D *śata-, śatena, śatina* (INSTR. SG.); N *śata;* P *sata-;* Pkt. *sa*(*d*)*a-;* Amg. *saya-.*

ONE HUNDRED AND TEN: N *daśutara śata* ('ten exceeding a hundred').

ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-EIGHT: Ap. *aḍhayālisauṃ sauṃ.*

ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY: Nagarjuna *sattari sataṃ* ('seventy and hundred').

27. From the weak base IE. **qwtṛ-.*
28. Accepted reading *pānatarīya* is obviously wrong; cf. *panatisāhi.*

TWO HUNDRED: Nasik Cave *-satāni be.*

TWO-HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIX: A(s) *duvesapaṃnā(sa)-satā.*

THREE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIX: Ap. *chāyālīsayaiṃ tiṇṇi sayaiṃ.*

THREE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-THREE: Ap. *tesaṭṭhaiṃ tiṇṇi sayaiṃ.*

ONE THOUSAND: A (S, M, G), N, P *sahasra-;* Khar. D *sahasa (ni)* (ACC. PL.), *sahasena, sahasina* (INSTR. SG.); Pkt. *sahassa-.*

ONE THOUSAND AND EIGHT: N *sahasra asti* (INSTR. SG.)

FOUR THOUSAND: Nasik *-sahasrehi catuhi* (INSTR.).

EIGHT THOUSAND: Nasik *-sahasrāṇi aṭha.*

NINE THOUSAND AND TWO HUNDRED: Pkt. *dasasahassāṇi aṭṭhasauṇagāṇi.*

THIRTY THOUSAND: Ap. *dahaguṇiya tiṇṇi sahasa.*

SEVENTY THOUSAND: Nasik *-sahasrāni satari.*

A HUNDRED THOUSAND: A (G) *satasahasra-;* Amg. *saya-sahassa-.*

THREE MILLION AND FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND: Kharavela *panatīsāhi satasahasehi* (INSTR.).

SEVEN MILLION AND FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND: Kharavela *panatarīhi satasahasehi* (INSTR.).

TEN MILLION: Pkt. Ap. *koḍi.*

FIFTY MILLION: Pkt. *paṇṇāsaṃ koḍīo.*

2. THE ORDINALS

§114. The cardinal is sometimes used for the ordinal. Thus: N *daśaṃmi* (LOC. SG.) 'tenth'; Kharavela *catuvīsati* 'twenty-fourth'.

The following are the historical ordinals:

FIRST: (i) Kharavela *padhama-;* N *prathama-;* Nasik *pathama-;* P *paṭhama-;* Pkt. *paḍhama-, puḍhama-,* etc. (ii) N *pratama, paḍ'ama:* <RV *pratamá-;* cf. OP *fratama-,* Av.

fratama-. (iii) Ap. *pahīla-, pahilī-* (FM.): <**prathira-*; cf. OP *fradara-*, (iv) Amg. *paḍhamilla-* <*paḍhama-* + **pahilla-*.

SECOND: (i) A (ng), Kharavela *dutiya-*; A (kq) *dutīya-*, *dutiyā-* (FM.); P *dutīya-*; Pkt. *du(d)īa-*, *du(d)ia-*; Amg. *duiya-*; <**dvatīya-*. (ii) Nanaghat, Nagar. *bitiya-*, Nasik *bitīya-*; Mah. *biijja-*; Amg. *biiya-*; *bīya-*;[29] Pkt., Ap. *bīa-*;[29] <*dvitīya-*. (iii) N *biti, dviti*; Amg. *docca-*, *ducca-*: <**dvitya-* (cf. Av. *bitya-*), **dvatya-*.

THIRD: (i) Kharavela, Nasik *tatiya-*; P *tatīya-*; Pkt. *ta(d)ia-*; Ap. *tīa-*; *tiijja-*, *taïjjī-* (FM.): <*tṛtīya-*. (ii) N *triti*; Amg. *tacca-*: <**tritya-* (cf. Av. *ϑritya-*), **tṛtya-*.

FOURTH: Kharavela *cavutha-*; N *caturtha*; P *catuttha-*; Pkt. *ca(d)uttha-*, *ca(d)uṭṭha-*, *caütthī* (FM.); Mah. *cotthī-* (FM.); Amg. *cauṭṭha-*, *caüttha-*.

FIFTH: Kharavela, Nagar. *paṃcama-*; N *paṃcama* (used as a cardinal number); P, Pkt. *pañcama-*, *pañcamī-* (FM.); Amg. *pañcamā-* (FM.).

SIXTH: Nagar. *chaṭha-*; P, Pkt., Ap. *chaṭṭha-*; Amg. *chaṭṭhā-* (FM.).

SEVENTH: Kharavela *satama-*; Nasik *sātama-*.

EIGHTH: A (T, etc.) *aṭhamī-*, *aṭhami-* (FM.); Kharavela *aṭhama-*; N *aṭhama-* (used as a cardinal); P, Pkt. *aṭṭhama-*, *aṭṭhamī-* (FM.).

TENTH: Kharavela, Nagar. *dasama-*; N *daśama*; P, Pkt. *dasama-*, *dasamī-* (FM.).

ELEVENTH: N *ekādaśa*.

TWELFTH: N *badaśa*, *badaśi*; J, Mah. *bārasī-* (FM.); Pkt. *bārasamā*.

THIRTEENTH: Nasik *terasa*; Nagar, *tera-*; Kharavela *terasama-*.

FOURTEENTH: A (T, etc.) *cāvudasa-*; Nagar. *codasa-*; P *cuddasa-*, *cātuddasa-*.

29. The long *ī* may have resulted from contraction of *-ii-* or the forms may be connected with RV *dvitá-*, *tritá-*,

FIFTEENTH : A (T, etc.) *paṃnaḍasa-*, *paṃnaḍasā-* (FM.); N *paṃcadasáṃmi* (Loc. SG.); P *pannarasa-*, *paṇṇarasa-*.

SIXTEENTH : Khar. D *ṣodaśā* (FM)[30]; P *soḷasa-*.

EIGHTEENTH : Nagar. *aṭhārasa-*.

NINETEENTH : Nasik *ekunavīsa-*.

TWENTIETH : P, Amg. *vīsa-*.

TWENTY-FIRST : Nasik *ekavisa-*.

TWENTY-THIRD : Kalawan Cop.-pl. *treviśa-*.

TWENTY-FOURTH : Nasik *catuvisa-*.

TWENTY-EIGHTH : Sui Bihar Cop.-pl. *aṭhaviṣa-*.

FORTIETH : P *cattārīsa-*, *cattālīsa-*.

FORTY-FIRST : Ara Stone Inscr. of Kaniṣka *ekacapariśa-*.

SIXTIETH : P *saṭṭhitama-*.

EIGHTIETH : P *asītitama-*.

§92. The characteristic ordinal affix in MIA is *-ma*, which is extended to the following forms :

SIXTH : N *sodhama*; P *chaṭṭhama-*.[31]

ELEVENTH : Ap. *eyāharama-*.

TWELFTH : Kharavela, Amg. *bārasama-*; P *dvādasama-*; Amg. *duvālasama-*.

THIRTEENTH : Kharavela *terasama-*.

FOURTEENTH : P, Amg. *coddasama-*; Amg. *caüddasama-*.

FIFTEENTH : P *pañcadasama-*, *paṇṇarasama-*; Amg. *pannarasama-*.

SIXTEENTH : P, Amg. *soḷasama-*.

TWENTIETH : P *vīsatima-*. Amg. *vīsaïma-*[32]; Ap. *bīsama-*.

THIRTIETH : Takht-ị-Bahi Stone Inscr. *tiśatima*.[32]

30. *kala aveti ṣoḍasa* Cro II.
31. *Cf.* Middle Bengali *sasṭhama*.
32. It may as well have resulted by haplology from *viṃśatitama-*, *aśītitama-*, *śatatama-* etc.

FORTIETH : P *cattārisatima-*, *cattālīsatima-*; Amg. *cattālīsaïma-*.[32]

FORTY-SECOND : Ap. *duyātisama-*.

SEVENTIETH : Taxila Cop.-pl. Inscr. of Patika *aṭhasatatima*.

SEVENTY-FIRST : Ap. *ekahattarima-*.

SEVENTY-NINTH : Ap. *ekkuṇāsīma-*.

EIGHTIETH : Amg. *Asīima-*.[32]

NINETY-SECOND : Ap. *dunaudima-*.

HUNDREDTH : P *satama-*[32]; Ap. *Sayana-*.

HUNDRED AND SECOND : Ap. *duruttarasayama-*.

§93. In BS (Mahā.) a cardinal in *-ti* appears as an ordinal with change of the final vowel into *-a*. Thus :

EIGHTY-NINTH: *ekūnanavata*.

NINETY-SECOND : *dvānavata*.

NINETY-FIFTH : *pañcanavata*.

3. THE FRACTIONALS

§115. *ardha*-'half' survives throughout: A (T) *aḍha-*; P, Pkt. *aḍḍha-*, *addha-*. Except in Amg. *divaḍḍha-*, where the order is reversed, *ardha-* when followed by an ordinal indicates the next lower integer plus half. Thus:

1½ : Amg. *divaḍḍha-* <*dvitā-* + *ardha-* or *dvi-ardha-*.

2½ : A (ru, mk, br, sd) *aḍhatīya-*, *aḍhatiya-*; P (late) *aḍḍhatīya-*, *addhateyya-*; BS *aḍḍhātiya-* Amg. *aḍḍhāijja-*: <*ardha-* + (*tṛ*) *tīya-*.

3½ P *aḍḍhuḍḍha-*; Amg. *addhaüttha-*: <*ardha-* + **turdha-* (for **turtha-*; cf. *turīya-*, *turya-* 'fourth').

5½: Amg. *addhachaṭṭha-* <*ardha* + *ṣaṣṭha-*.
12½: P *aḍḍhatelasa-* <*ardha* + *trayodaśa-*.

4. THE MULTIPLICATIVES

§116. (i) *sakṛt* 'once' survives dialectally: P *saki(ṃ)*, Amg. *saïṃ*,

(ii) Khar. D *savrasi* (Cvo 38) 'always'; Amg. *ekkasi(ṃ)*, *ekkasiaṃ* 'once' contain the IE. affix -**kis* (as in Gk. *tetrákis*, *heptákis*) which is allied to OIA affix *-śas*.

(iii) The specific MIA multiplicative affix *-khattuṃ* (*khuttaṃ*) comes from OIA *kṛtvas* used independently or as the second member of a compound (cf. AV *aṣṭakṛtvaḥ*, BS *tṛṣkṛtva* 'thrice'): Amg. *dukkhutto* 'twice' <**dvaṣkṛtvaḥ* = *dvíḥ kṛtvaḥ*, P *tikkhattuṃ*, Amg. *tikkhutto*, BS *tṛṣkṛtva* 'thrice'. Mah. *saahuttaṃ* 'hundred times'.

(iv) In Ap. *-hiṃ* (INSTR.-LOC. ending) appears in some multiplicatives adverbs: e.g., *bihiṃ* 'twice', *tihiṃ* 'thrice', *pāñcahiṃ* 'five times'. All these examples are from Vasu.

5. OTHER DERIVATIVES

§117. (1) The collectives are inherited forms: P *duka-*; Amg. *duga-*; *duya-* <**dvaka-* = *dvika-*. Pkt. *biuṇa-* (<*dviguṇa-*) 'double': Pkt. *doṇha-* (from GEN. PL.) 'both, a couple'. P *catukka-* <**caturka-* or *catuṣka-*. Amg. *chakka-* <*ṣaṭka-*.

Nasik Cave Inscr. of Nahāpana *bārasaka* 'a sum of twelve (*kārṣāpaṇas*)', *pacatriśaka* 'a sum of thirtyfive (*kārṣāpaṇas*)'.

(2) Percentage is thus expressed in Nasik Cave Inscr.: *paḍika-śata* 'one per cent', '*pāyūna-paḍīka-śata* 'three-fourth per cent'.

(3) The numerical adjective and adverb is formed by adding *vidha-* and *-dhā* respectively to the numeral. Thus: P *sattavidha-* 'seven manners'. Amg. *duviha-* 'double'; P *sattadhā* 'seven ways', Amg. *duhā* 'two ways'; etc.

Chapter VII

THE VERB

§118. The OIA verbal system was simplified in MIA to a much greater extent than the nominal system. The dual number was completely lost, and the middle voice almost entirely so. The flexional difference between the active and the passive was confined to the stem only. Of the tenses the perfect was completely lost (the solitary survivals being *āha* and *vidu* in early MIA, but there *āha* sometimes took up the personal endings of the present). The imperfect and the aorist fell together, but this combined finite past tense did not survive for long. This imperfect-aorist tense is of the nature of archaism and very rarely used in the Prakrits, and it was lost in Apabhraṃśa. It was the inroad of the nominal system that drove out the finite past tense in MIA where characteristically the preterite was formed by the past participle (with or without pleonastic possessive affixes and sometimes with the personal endings added.) The future was a living tense throughout but in Apabhraṃśa it began to lose ground to the present and to the future passive participle in *-tavya*. Of the moods the injunctive was already a lost idiom in OIA. The subjunctive which is unknown in Classical Sanskrit survived in a few forms in early MIA, often undistinguished in sense from the present indicative. The optative survived till the second MIA when it tended to coalesce with the strong (or '-ijja-') passive. The imperative and the present indicative remained throughout.

1. The Verbal Base

§119. Phonetic change in conjunct consonants was mainly responsible for the loss of the old root sense in MIA. As in all conjugations except the thematic *-a-* and *-aya-* classes (of simple roots with single consonants) and the athematic root class (of monosyllabic roots in *-ā*) the final consonant of the root was assimilated with the base affix (or with the ending)

the root element could not be separated from the base affix (or from the ending). The assimilated base (root + base affix) became the new root or base in MIA. Thus: *vaḍḍha-* <*várdh-a-* (√*vṛdh-*), *kassa* <*kárṣ-a-* (√*kṛṣ-*), *jujjha-* <*yudh-ya-* (√*yudh-*), *jiṇa-* <*ji-nā-* (√*ji*), *sakka-* <*śak-ya-* (passive) or *śak-no* (<√*śak*), etc.

For the MIA conjugation we can recognise only three types of base-roots: (A) *-a-* type, (B) *-e-* (and *-i-*) type and (C) other (mixed) types. The origin of the three types from the various IE and OIA conjugation types of the present system is indicated below.

§120. The *-a-* type has the following sources:

(i) OIA *-a-* classes (present indicative):

(a) *-a-* class.

A (G), P, Khar. D *bhavati;* N *hoati;* Pkt. *havaï, sambhava(d)i: bhávati.* A (K) *-vataṃti;* Khar. D *-vatati;* P *vattati;* Pkt., Ap. *vaṭṭaï: vártate, vártati.* P *ravati,* Pkt. *ravaï: ravati.* Khar. D *śayadi, śe'adi* : *śayati, śáyate* (RV).

(b) *-á-* class.

P *disati,* N *saṃtiśaṃti;* Pkt., Ap. *disaï: diśáti.* Khar. D. *phuṣamu: spṛśā'maḥ.* BS *āsati: āsati* (epic). Ap. *chivasu: *chidasva.*

(c) Reduplicated *-a-* class.

A (G) *tiṣṭeya* (opt.), Pkt. *ciṭṭaï* : *tiṣṭhati.* P *pibati*: Pkt., Ap. *pibaï* : *píbati.*

(d) *-ccha-* class.

Khar. D. *adhigachati,* P *gacchati* : *gácchati.* A, Khar. D, N *ichaï;* P *icchati;* Pkt., Ap. *icchaï* : *icchāti.* N *pṛchati, paripruchati;* P *pucchati;* Pkt., Ap. *pucchaï: pṛccháti.* A (S) *achaṃti,* N *hach'ati;*[1] P *acchati;* Pkt., Ap. *acchaï: *acchati.* A (K, D, T, etc.) *kachati*[1]: **kṛcchati* (cf. *kṛcchra-*).

1. A and N forms have a future sense which is inherent in the base affix.

(e) Nasal infixed *-a- class* :

Khar. D *tunati*: *tundate* (RV), *nivinati* : *nirvindati*, P *kantati*: *kṛntáti*. Pkt., Ap. *chindaï*, *chiṇḍaï* : *chindeta* (epic)

(ii) OIA *-a-* (aorist or subjunctive base):

A (D, J) *huvaṃti*; P *hupeyya* (opt.); Pkt. *huvaï* : *bhuvāni*. N *marati*; Pkt., Ap. *maraï* : *márate*, *maranti*. Pkt. *manaï*; *mananta* (RV). Pkt. *suvaï* : *supyāt* (late Vedic). Ap. *muya*: *mucaḥ*.

(iii) OIA *-ya-* class (present active and passive):

(a) Active.

A (S, M) *mañati*,[2] (m) *maṇati*, (K) *manati* (G) *maṃñate*, (D) *maṃnate*; Khar. D *natimañati*; P *maññati*; N *maṃñati*; Pkt. *maṇṇaï* : *mányate*, *manyati* (Upaniṣad). A (G), Khar. D *pasati* : *páśyati*. Khar. D *vijati* : *vídyate*. P Pkt. *vijjhanti*: *vidhyanti*. P *naccati*; Pkt., Ap. *ṇaccaï*: *nṛtyati*. P, BS *vāyati*, Pkt. *vāaï*: *vā'yati*. BS *snāyitum*; Pkt. *ṇhāāmi*: *snāyate* (epic). Pkt. *bhāāmi*: cf. *bháyate* (RV). BS *paśyitvā*, *ananuyujyitvā*.

(b) Passive.

A (G) *ayāya* (impf.), P *yāyati*, Pkt. *yāaï* (*jāaï*): *yāyate*.

A (G) *vucate*, (S, M) *vucati*; Khar. D, N *vucati*; P *vuccati*;[3] Pkt. *vuccaï*: *ucyate*. P *ñayāmi*: *jñāyate*. Pkt., Ap. *ruccaï* : *rucyate*. N *ṭhiyaṃti*; Pkt. *thāyaï*, Ap. *ṭhāi*: *sthīyate*, *asthayiṣi* (epic). BS *mellitvā*; Pkt. *mellaï*: *milyate*. Pkt. *bhīāmi* : *bhīyate*.

(iv) OIA reduplicated class (mostly based on the 3 pl. form):

A (T. etc.) *upadahevu* (opt.), P *dahati*: *dádhati* (PL.). Khar. D, *jahati* (if not=*jahāti*): *jáhati* (PL.). BS *juhita-*: =*hutá-*. BS *dadeyam* (opt.). Ap. *bīhāmo*: *bibhīmaḥ*.

2. A (S) *menati* probably comes from the perfect base *men-*.
3. Probably influenced by *vócati* (aor, subj.).

(v) OIA *-nā'-* class (based on the 3 PL. form):

A (D, J, T, etc.) *jānisaṃti* (fut.), (br) *jāneyu* (opt.); P *jānati,* N *janati;* Pkt., Ap. *jāṇaï* : *jānāti, jānati* (Upaniṣad, epic). P *vikkinatha* (2 PL.), Pkt. *vikkiṇaï*: *vikrīṇāti.* Pkt., Ap. *jinaï* (P. *jinati*): *jināti.* P. *gaṇhati,* Pkt. *genhaï,* Ap. *gheṇaï*: *gṛhṇāti, gṛhṇati* (epic). A (G) *sruṇāru* (imp.), (S, M) *śruṇeyu* (opt.); BS *śruṇati;* P *suṇāhi, suṇa* (imp.); Pkt., Ap. *Suṇaï*: **śruṇāti.* **śruṇati.* Pkt. *kuṇai* (Mah.): **kṛṇati* A (G) *prāpunati,* (D) *pāpunevu* (opt.), (J) *pāpuneyu* (opt.); P *papuṇa* (imp.): **prāpnāti.* A (G, S, M) *chaṇati* : **kṣaṇati.*

(vi) OIA *-sa-* class (aorist indicative, subjunctive and desiderative):

A (S, M, K) *dakhati,* (T, etc.) *dekhati,* (D, J) *dakhāmi;* P *dakkhati;* Pkt., Ap. *dekkhaï, daccha* (imper.): *dṛkṣase* (RV).

P *sussusanti* : *śuśrūṣante.* P *jigucchati* : *jugupsate.*

(vii) IE *-*dhe- class:*[4]

P *kaḍḍhati;* Pkt., Ap. *kaḍḍhaï* : **kṛṣ-dha-ti.* P *ṭhahanti* (3 PL.), BS *upa-sthihe* (1 SG.): **stha-dha-.* Pkt., Ap. *veḍhaï*: **vṛj-dha-ti.*

(viii) IE **-do- class.*

Pkt., Ap. *kaḍḍaï* : **kṛṣ-da-ti* (*kaḍḍati* in late Skt.). Pkt. Ap. *juḍḍaï*: **yuj-da-ti* (*juḍḍati* in late Skt.). Pkt., Ap. *vuḍḍaï* **vṛṣ-da-ti.*

(ix) Demonstratives from past participles and action nouns:

P *laggatu* (imp.); BS *lagnati;* Pkt., Ap. *laggaï*: *lagna* (*lag-*). N *ditamti*: **dita-* (*dā*). Pkt., Ap. *nonnaï*: *nunna-* (*nud-*). Pkt., Ap. *ovāḍhaï*: *avagāḍha-* (*gāh-*). Pkt., Ap *ubbevaï*: *udvega-* (*vij-*). Ap. *mukkaï-; mukta-* (*muc-*). BS *ārūḍhayitvā.* Pkt. *jatteha* (imp.): *yattá-* (*yat*).

4. IE. *-*dhe-* has survived in OIA as only a radical element as in *rā-*: *rādh-; sā-*: *sādh-; ṛ-*: *ṛdh-* etc.

§121. The *-e-* type has the following sources:

(i) OIA causative and denominative classes:

A (S, M) *aradheti*: *ārādhayati*. P *katheti*; Pkt. *kaheī*; Ap. *kahei*, *kahai*: *kathayati*. A (G) *āñapayāmi*,[5] (S) *aṇapayami*, *aṇapemi*, (Kb) *ānapayati*, (br) *āṇapayati*; P *āṇāpeti*; Pkt. *āṇave* (d) *i*: *ājñāpayati*, *ājñapayati*. N *viṃñaveti*: *vijñāpayati*. P. *ṭhapeti*, *ṭhāpeti*: *sthāpayati*. P *kāreti*, *kārāpeti*; Kharavela *kārayati*; Pkt. *kāreī*, *kāraveī*: *kārayati*, **kārāpayati*. Kharavela *bandhāpayati*, Pkt. *bandhāveī*: **bandhāpayati*. N *arog'emi*: **ārogyayāmi*. Pkt. *ghattissāmi* (fut.): *gṛhītá-*.

(ii) OIA *-a-* class with monosyllabic roots ending in *-i* (*-ay*):

P. *jeti*, Pkt. (Ś) jedu (imp.): *jayati*. P *deti*; Pkt. Ap. *deï*: *dayati*. Pkt., Ap. *neī*: *nayati*.

(iii) OIA root class with monosyllabic roots ending in *-i* (*-ī*):

P *eti*: *eti*. Khar. D *śeti*,[6] P *seti*: *śete*. P *bhemi*: *bhema* (RV, 1 PL. aor.; $\sqrt{}$*bhi*).

(iv) Transfers from various OIA types:

P *uṭṭheti*, Pkt. *uṭṭheï* Ap. *uṭṭheĩ*, utthai: **ut-sthāti*, **-sthayati*. P *samādhemi*: *sam-ā-*dhāmi*, *-dadhāmi*.

A (K, D, J) *kaleti*, Pkt. *kareï*; Ap. *kareĩ*, *karaï*: *karoti*. Khar. D *kurati*: **kurati* (based upon *kurvaḥ*, *kurmaḥ*; $\sqrt{}$*kṛ*).

P *maññesi*: *manyase*.

Pkt. *geṇhaï*: *gṛhṇāti*.

§122. The *-i-* type has a mixed source: it partly developed from the *-e-* type and partly out of the passive and the future conjugations.

Khar. D *avechiti*: *avekṣate*; P *sakkinti*: *śakyante*.

The other types come from the following sources:

5. MIA *ānāpayati* may have come from *ā-*nāpayati* <*ā- jñāpayati* and not through assimilation of *jñ*.

6. Also *śayati*, *śe'aṭi*.

(i) OIA *-no-* (*-nu-*) class:

A (T etc.) *pāpovā* (3SG. opt.); Khar. D *praṇoti*: *prāpnoti*. P *sakkoti*; Pkt. *sakkuṇomi*: *śaknoti*. Khar. D *amoti* (A⁶ 6): *āpnoti*. Pkt. *thuṇu* (imp.): *stunuanti*.

(ii) OIA *-o-* (*-u-*) class:

A (S, M, G), Khar. D, P *karoti*; Pkt. (Ś) *karodi*: *karoti*.

(iii) OIA root classes (present and aorist):

Khar. D *bromi* (P *brūmi*): *brūmi* (epic). A (S, M), Khar. D *bhoti*,[7] (S, M, G, K, D, J, T etc.), P *hoti*,[8] Pkt. *bhodi* (Ś), *hoí*; Ap. *hoí*, *haï*: **bhoti* (cf. *bodhí* aor. imp.). A (G) *niyātu* (imp.); Khar. D *yati*, P *yāti*; Pkt., Ap. *yāï*: *yāti*.[9] A (T etc.) *vidahāmi*; P *saddahāmi*; Pkt., Ap. *saddahaï*: *-dadhāti*. P *uṭṭhāti*; Pkt., Ap. *ṭhāï*; Ap. *uṭṭhaï*: **-sthāti*.

(iv) OIA *-nā-* class:

A (K, D, J), Kharavela *pāpunāti*; P *pāpuṇāti*: *prāpṇāti*. P *jānāti*, *jināti*, *gaṇhāti* (*gṛh-nā-*), *suṇāti* (**śru-nā-*) *vicināti* (*vi-ci-nā-*), *sambhuṇāti* (cf. BS *saṃbhuṇiṣyasi*; *sam-bhū-nā-*).

(v) OIA subjunctive:

A (sn) *huvāti*: *bhū-*; A (G) *upahaṇāti*:[10] *upa-han-*. P *vitarāsi*:[10] *tar-*. Pkt. *bhaṇādi*:[11] *bhaṇ-*.

(vi) OIA optative:

A (S, M) *siyati*, (K, D) *siyāti*; Kharoṣṭhi Inscr. *siati*; N *siyati*: *as-*. N *bhaveyāti*: *bhū*. P *puccheyyāmi*: *pracch-*, *kareyyāsi*: *kṛ-*.

(vii) OIA root types:

A (S, M, G) *asti*, (K, D, J, T, ru) *athi*; P, Pkt. *atthi*: *asti*.

7. *bhoti* once only in M.
8. *hoti* once only in S.
9. Pkt. Ap *gāī* 'sings', *pāī* 'gets', *khāī* 'eats' and *jāī* 'goes' probably resulted from contraction,—*gāai*, *pāai*, *khāai*, *jāai*.
10. May be analogical formations after the first person singular, present.
11. The Pkt. forms might have originated from imperatives like *yāhi*, *pāhi*, etc.

P *brūmi, dammi, kummi, kubbati* are formed after the PL. forms *brūmaḥ, dadmaḥ, kurmaḥ, kurvanti* respectively.

§123. Characteristically MIA adopted as roots OIA conjugational bases (i.e. root plus affix), often compounded with prepositions. Thus: A √*pāvā-, pāpo-* <*pra* + √*āp-* + *-nā-, -no-*. *iccha* <*iṣ-* + *-ccha-*. P, Pkt. √*vikkiṇa-* <*vi* + √*krī-* + *-nā-*. A *śrunā-*, P *sunā-*; Pkt., Ap. *suṇa-* <√*śru-* + *-nā-*. A √*prajohi-, pajūhi-* <*pra* + *juho-, juhu* (reduplicated base of √*hu-*). √*accha-* <√*as-* + *-ccha-*. Pkt. Ap. √*pahuccha-* <*pra-* + √*bhū-* + *-ccha-*. Pkt., Ap. *jujjha-* <*yudh-* + *-ya-*. BS, N *gaccha-* <√*gam-* + *-ccha-*; etc.

The stem of Pkt. *āhammai* (=*āhanti*) is obtained from **hammi* (=*hanmi*).

2. The Personal Terminations of the Indicative

§124. In MIA the active terminations were used in the active voice, even with those verbs which took middle terminations in OIA and also in the passive voice for all verbs. The middle terminations, for both voices, continued for some time in certain dialects in early MIA and as very rare archaisms in the later MIA. Three endings of the middle voice, viz. the second person singular imperative and imperfect and third person singular imperfect, were inherited in the East Central dialect.

§125. The Terminations of the Present Indicative.

(a) First person singular.

(i) OIA *-mi* (only in inherited forms like *karomi, brūmi* etc., *-āmi, -emi* (*ā* shortened to *a* and *e* to *i* in late Pkt. and Ap.): A (D) *kalāmi*, (D, J) *ichāmi*, (S) *aṇapayami*, (S, M) *aṇapemi*; P *jigucchāmi*; Khar. D *vadami*; N *likhami, harami, janami, janemi, presemi, viṃñavemi*; Pkt. *karemi, jāṇāmi, jāṇemi*; Pkt., Ap. *karimi, jāṇami, jāṇimi*.

(ii) OIA *-m* (secondary) occurs seldom; e.g. P *gaccham*;[12] Ap. *yāṇaṃ* (= *jāṇam*; Vasu).

12. See Geiger §122.

(iii) *-aũ* (late Ap. only). PISCHEL derives it from secondary *-am* after the pleonastic infix *-k-* (like late Vedic *yāmaki* = *yāmi*).[13] The termination may have come from *mama* much in the same way as *tu* has been used in N for 2 SG. *jāṇaüm, kijjaüṃ.*

(iv) *-mhi* > *-mmi* (not found in early MIA). It probably comes from 1 SG. of the verb substantive *asmi*. In BS *asmi* is often added to the inflected verb. Pkt. *gacchamhi.* N *viṃñaveyaṃmi* is a probable instance. Ap. *abbhatthiammi* (Vikramorvaśī).

(v) *-e* (middle SG.). P *rame;* Pkt. *jāṇe, maṇṇe;* Pkt. (Mg.) *vāe, gāe.*

(vi) *-mahe* (middle PL.): Ap. *paḍicchāmahe* (PL. for SG.) (Vasu).

(b) Second person singular:

(i) OIA *-si.* P *labhasi;* N *karesi, janasi, janesi;* Pkt., Ap. *jāṇasi;* Ap. *acchasi.*

(ii) OIA *-hi*[14] (imperative). P *labhāhi;*[15] Pkt. *lahahi;* Ap. *acchahi.*

(iii) *-tu* (<OIA *tuvám,* added to the denominative or verbal stem). N *viṃñavetu, arog'etu, ichatu, karetu.* If old Bengali *pucchatu, bāhatu* (imperative sense) are connected with the Niya forms it would appear that though written as an affix *tu* was an independent element.

(iv) OIA *-se* (middle). P *labhase;* Pkt. *jāṇase.*

(c) Third person singular:

(i) OIA *-ti.* A *ichati, hoti,* (K) *apakaleti,* (G) *upahaṇāti;*[15] Khar. D *adhigachati, pramajati* (*pra-* + √*mad-*), *rachati* (√*rakṣ-*), *miyati* (√*mṛ-*); P *labhati; katheti;* N *icchati, haradi, dhareti, viṃñaveti;* Pkt., Ap. *vaṭṭaï, kaheï, kahaï.*

13. See PISCHEL §454.
14. In some forms the origin was probably OIA *-si.*
15. The long base vowel may be analogical or subjunctival.

(ii) OIA *-te* (middle). A (G) *karote, maṃñate, parākamate;* P *labhate, haññate;* N *rucate* (also *rucati*) *vaṃdate;*[16] Pkt. *lahae* (Amg.), *passae, vaṭṭae* (*vasu*), *pecchae* (M).

(d) First person plural:

(i) OIA *-ma* (secondary).[17] P *labhāma, pavadema;* Andhra Inscr. *vitarāma;* N *jivama, viṃñavema, arog'ema;* Pkt. *kāmema.*[18]

(ii) OIA *-mas* > *-mo, -mu.* Khar. D *jivamu, viharamu, phuṣamu* (B 25; √*spṛś-*); Pkt. *hasāmo, hasāmu, hasimo* (<*hasemo*); Ap. (*mo* (<*smaḥ*), *acchāmo* 'we are'.

(iii) *-hũ.* This termination occurs in late Ap. only. It has obvious resemblance to the Ap. case termination *-hũ* as PISCHEL indicated. But if any connection is to be assumed between the two it must have been the genitival use of the ending that had intruded into the plural verb. If *mama* is the source of the singular ending *-aũ* then *mahũ* (<**mabhyam*) can very well be the source of the plural ending *-ahũ* (see -(*a*)*mha* and *-hiṃ* below). *lahahũ, acchahũ.*

(iv) In a few forms P has the ending *-mase* which is a cross between OIA *-masi* (active) and *-mahe* (middle). *tappāmase, abhinandāmase.*

(v) An ending *-mhe* is also prescribed in Pali grammar, but no attested form is available. It is better to take the ending as coming from *amhe* or from *smas* rather than from syncopation of *-mahe.*[19] It occurs sporadically in Pkt. *kāmamhe.*

(vi) -(*e*)*mha* <*sma* (unaugmented imperf. of √*as*). BS *paricaremha;* Pkt. *kīlemha kīlamha* (=*krīḍāmaḥ*).

(vii) *-matha.*[20] BS *gacchāmatha, pṛcchāmatha.*

16. These are the only two middle forms that occur.
17. May be derived from *-mas* by dialected treatment of the final -*s*.
18. Such forms occur in poetry only.
19. See GEIGER §122.
20. See the article by Dr. H. DACHI in *Indian Linguistics* xi, p. 1ff.

(e) Second person plural:

(i) OIA *-tha*. P *labhatha, bhavetha;* Pkt., Ap. *jāṇaha, pucchaha;* Ś *ṇedha.*

(ii) OIA *-thas* (dual). Ap. *pucchahu.*

(iii) *-vhe* (according to Pali grammarians) has no attested form. It may be an abbreviation of second per. PL. *tubbhe.*

(f) Third person plural:

(i) OIA *-nti.* A *icchaṃti, anuvidhīyaṃti,* (K, D, J) *kalaṃti;* Khar. D *vardhanti;* P *labhanti, kārenti;* N *kareṃti, sthaveṃti, arog'eṃti;* Pkt. *honti, karenti;* Ap. *karanti.*

(ii) *-hiṃ.* This ending predominates over *-nti* in late Ap., and occurs sporadically in Amg. but nowhere else. Its analogical origin (first person *-uṃ*: *-huṃ*: second person *-hi*: *-hiṃ*) is not tenable as *-huṃ* does not appear as early as *-hiṃ*. It is better to take it as Instr. PL. of a demonstrative pronoun (e.g., **ebhim, *ibhim*) represented by the aphetic form *hiṃ* and added to the verb stem in the same way as *aũ* in the first person and *tu* in the second person. Amg. *acchahiṃ, parijāṇāhiṃ;* Ap. *acchahiṃ; karahiṃ.*

(iii) OIA *-nte* (middle). P *lambante, haññante;* Pkt. *gajjante, ciṭṭhante.*

(iv) OIA *-re* (as in Vedic *duhré, śere*). A (G) *anuvatare, anuvidhiyare, ārabhare;* P *labhare, haññare.*

The late Pkt. and Ap. forms in *-ire* (e.g. *haseire, hasaïre hasire;* also used for SG. according to Hemachandra[21]) probably are unconnected with OIA perfect middle ending *-re*. These may very well be nominal forms with the participial affix *-ira-*.

The form *dadariṃ* occurs in a Kharoṣṭhi inscription.[22]

3. THE PERSONAL TERMINĀTIONS OF THE IMPERATIVE

§126. From the earliest stage there was the growing tendency of generalising the third per SG. of the imperative

21. See PISCHEL. §458.
22. Sui Vihar Cop-pl. Inscr.

for the PL. It was even extended to the second person. The present indicative too was largely used for the imperative towards the close of MIA.

§127. The Terminations of the Present Imperative.

(a) Second person singular:

(i) No ending (OIA thematic conjugation). Khar. D *sija*, P *siñca* <*siñca;* Khar. D *china* <*chinda;* P *geṇha*, *saddaha;* Pkt. *geṇha*, *āaccha*, *mara*, *ciṭṭha*, *thuṇu* (=*stuhi*); Ap. *puccha*, *cinta*, *pasīa;* BS *gṛṇha*, *āsa* (√*ās-*), *muya* (*smuc*).

(ii) OIA *-dhi* (athematic conjugation). P *brūhi*, *dehi*, *anehi*, *jivāhi;* Pkt. *suṇāhi*, *jāṇahi*, *hohi*, *pucchehi;* Ap. *bhaṇahi*, *suṇehi*, *karahi*, *acchahi*, *dekkhāvahi*, *uttarahi;* BS *paśyahi*, *śruṇehi*, *prāpuṇehi*.

(iii) OIA *-sva* (=*sua;* middle). Khar. D *bhametsu* (B34) <*bhāvayasva;* P *labhassu*, *pucchassu*, *pucchassa;* Pkt. *kahasu*, *khamasu*, *kuṇasu;* Ś *kadhesu*, *pekkhassa;* Ap. *ghaḍāsu* <*ghaṭayasvā;* Vasu), *kijjasu*, *bujjhasu*, *hasassa* (Krama.).

(iv) *-u*[23] (cf. *kuru*). Ap. *pekkhu*, *bhaṇu*, *jāṇu*.

(v) OIA *-tha* (extended from the plural). *udharadha* <*ud-* √*dhāray-*, *nikhamadha*[24] <*niṣ-* √*kram-;* P *vijānātha;*[25] Ap. *hoha*.

(vi) OIA *-thas* (transferred from the plural). Ap. *ṇamahu*, *bujjhahu*.

(vii) OIA *-i* (passive aorist). It occurs only in late Ap. and as a dominating idiom. *jāṇi*, *kari*, *bolli*, *bandhi*. The aorist (IE. injunctive) with *mā* was a common OIA idiom of the negative imperative, and this idiom came down up to the late Ap. These forms were extended to the third person.

23. An analysis of forms like *deu*, *hou* might have strengthened this ending *-u*.

24. These are mostly PL.

25. See GEIGER §125.

(b) Third person singular:

(i) OIA *-tu*. A (M, K, D, J, T, etc.) *hotu*, (Ś) *bhotu*, (S, M), *anuvidhīyatu*, Khar. D (Cro 20), *jatu* <√*jīv-*; N *hotu, hutu, davyatu* (pass); P *passatu, ijjhatu* (<√*ṛdh-*); Pkt. *deu, maraü*; Ś *kadhedu, suṇādu*; Ap. *deu, hou, acchau*. In the late Ap. the *u* forms were extended to the second person.

(ii) OIA *-thas* (extended from second person plural). Ap. *karahu, chaḍḍahu*.

(iii) OIA *-tām* (middle). A (G) *anuvidhīyatāṃ* (pass); *sususatā(ṃ)*; P *acchataṃ, labhataṃ*.

(c) Second person plural:

(i) OIA *-tha* (present plural). A (D, J) *caghatha*, (sn) *nikhipātha*,[26] (s) *lekhāpayātha*,[26] (G) *paṭivedetha*;[27] Khar. D *bhodha, bhavetha*,[27] *udhavaradha* <*ud-* + -√*dhṛ-*, *nikhamadha* <*niṣ-*√*kram-*, *yujatha, dhunatha*; P *gaṇhatha, suṇātha*;[27] Pkt. *ṇamaha, khamaha*; Mg. *śuṇādha*; Ap. *hoha, karaha*.

(ii) OIA *-thas* (present dual). Ap. *karehu, acchaha*.

(iii) OIA *-ta*. A (D, J) *dekhata*.

(iv) *-vho*. P *passavho, pucchavho, mantavho, kappayavho, mantayavho, pamodathavho*.[28] All these forms imply direct command. This fact and the last two forms (*mantaya* + *vho*, *pamodatha* + *vho*) clearly indicate that *-bho* is the vocative *bhos* affixed to the second person (SG. and PL.) of the imperative.

(d) Third person plural:

(i) OIA *-ntu*. A (M, G, K) *yujaṃtu*, (D) *yujaṃtu*, (bh, ru, s, b) *jānaṃtu*, (G) *ārādhayaṃtu*, (D, J) *ālādhayaṃtu*, (K) *anuvataṃtu, paṭivedeṃtu*; Khar. D *bhodu* (Aa

26. It may be subjunctive.
27. Originally from the optative.
28. These are all the forms that occur (GEIGER §126). See pres. end. *-vhe*.

5); P *hanantu;* Pkt. *dentu, suṇantu, hontu;* Ap. *karantu, hontu, acchantu.*

(ii) OIA *-tu* (extended from SG.). A (S, M) *aradhetu,* (S) *paṭrivedetu,* (M) *paṭivedetu,* (S) *rocetu,* (K) *locetu, manatu, ālādhayitu;* (G) *niyātu;* N *hotu, hutu.*

(iii) OIA *-rām* (as in *duhrā'm*), A (G) *anuvatarām.*

(iv) OIA *-*ru (m)* (cf. *kuru* <**kṛru?*). A (G) *sruṇāru;* P *viṣīyaruṃ*[29] (<√*śyā-*).

(v) Extension of the present. Ap. *lehiṃ* (Hema.).

4. The Future

§128. The future stem was formed by the addition of *-(i)sya* as in OIA. The *aniṭ* form was used when the stem final was a vowel other than *-a* or a consonant. In MIA, however, the *aniṭ* form of the affix was dialectally added to the *aniṭ* aorist base of a root which was *seṭ* in OIA. Thus A (M) *kaṣami,* P *kassāmi* <**karsyāmi=kariṣyāmi;* A (D, T) *hosāmi,* P *hessāmi,* Pkt. *hossāmi* <**bhaiṣya., *bhoṣya=bhaviṣa-*

§129. From early times there were dialectal forms with the base affix *-ha,* which became quite dominant in Ap. The origin seems to be the IE. stem affix *-*so-,* OIA *-sa-* (occurring in the desiderative, the aorist and as a root determinative).[30] It seems to have originated in the East Central dialect for in Asokan both the occurrences belong to this dialect and both are third person PL.: (T) *hohaṃti,* (T, etc.) *dāhaṃti.*

§130. The base affix also occurred as *-(i)s(s)i, -ihi,* which probably developed out of *-(i)ṣya-* >**isia-* (by samprasārana) > *-isi-* >*ihi;* Khar. D *vihasiti, bheṣiti vi-√har-; bheṣiti* <√*bhū; eṣiti* <√*i.*

§131. The *-ccha-* present had an inherent future sense, e.g. A (S) *achaṃti,* N *hach'ati;* A (K, T, etc.) *kachati.* To

29. See Geiger §126.

30. The MIA future in *-sa-* is attested in *gaṁsāmi, anugaṁsaṁ,* etc. in Mahāvastu.

this should be added P *hañchati* (<*han*) and *hañchema* (pt. first per PL.).[31] These *-ccha-* presents strengthened the currency of the true futures in *-ccha-* such as P *lacchati* (<*lapsyate*).

The use of the double future base was quite common in Pkt., e.g. *hohissāmo*.

§132. The P and Pkt. future in *-kkha-* (e.g. P *patihaṅkhāmi* = *haniṣyāmi*; Amg. *hokkhaṃ* = *bhaviṣyāmi*) is analogical formation after the genuine future in *-kkha-* <*-*kiṣya-*: A (sn, kb, sc) *bhākhati* <**bhāṅkṣyati*).

§133. According to the grammarians the future was also formed from the optative base in late Pkt. and Ap.; e.g. *hojjāhii*, *hojjihii*.

§134. The endings of the future were the same as of the present but there are some notable alternatives and dialectal variations. In the first per. SG. the secondary -(*a*)*m* (as in the OIA conditional) was often used in place of the primary *-mi*. In Asokan, with the solitary exception of (S) *kaṣam* (<**karṣyam*), all such forms belong to the Western and East Central dialects.[32] N *gameṣiśa*, *parimargisya* may be instances of this.[33]

The grammarians include such forms as *hohissā* and *hohitthā* among the forms of the first person plural. There are probably extensions of the second person SG. active and middle of the future subjunctive and the aorist respectively, built up on the future base. Thus *hohissā* <**bhoṣyiṣyāḥ*, cf. *kariṣyā'ḥ*; *hohitthā* <**bhoṣyi-sthāḥ*.

§135. The Terminations of the Future Indicative.

(a) First person singular:

(i) OIA *-mi*. A (D, J) *hosāmi*, *hosāmī*, (M) *kaṣami*, (K) *lekhāpeśāmi*, (S, M) *likhapeśami*, (D) *likhiyisāmi*; N

31. N *hach'ati* is generally used for the opt. See BURROW §99.

32. Not in K, D, J.

33. BURROW would like to take these as mistakes for *-mi*. If they did not possess *-m* they might as well be the bare stems used for first person SG. like *bhaviṣya* (third per SG.); see BURROW §99.

janiṣyami; P *pibissāmi;* BS *gaṃsāmi;* Amg. *essāmi, gacchissāmi, dāhāmi, dāhimi* (gram.); Pkt. *hossāmi* (gram.), *gacchihāmi* (gram.), *gacchimi* (gram.); Ap. *pekkhihimi, hosami, kahehāmi, karesami, pālesami;* etc.

(ii) OIA -*(a)m* (secondary). A (G) *likhāpayisaṃ,* (T, etc.) *palibhasayisaṃ,* (S) *kaṣaṃ;* P *parinibhissaṃ, sussaṃ* (<**śruṣyam*); BS *anugaṃsaṃ, mariṣyaṃ;* Pkt. *pucchissaṃ, dacchaṃ* (<*drakṣyam*); Amg., Ap. (Vasu) *pāhaṃ;* Ap. *pāvisu, karesu* >*karīsu, bolissaṃ* (Vasu).

(b) Second person singular:

(i) OIA -*si.* Khar. D *vihaṣisi* <*vi-* + √*hṛ;* P *mokkhasi, sossi,*[34] *kāhasi, ehisi, hohiṣi;* N *paribujhiśasi, giṃniṣyasi;* Ś *gamissasi;* Pkt. *acchihisi, dāhisi;* Ap. *karihisi, karīsi,*[35] *hohisi;* BS *tarīhasi.*

(ii) OIA -*hi* (imperative). Ap. *karesahi.*

(iii) OIA -*se* (middle). P *gamissase.*[36]

(iv) -*tu* (<*tuám*). N *agachiśatu, kariṣyatu, dāsyatu.*

(v) -*sva* in Future Imperative forms occurring in Ap.). *bhavissasu* (Vasu).

(c) Third person singular:

(i) OIA -*ti.* A (G) *āñapayisati,* (S, M) *kaṣati,* (D, J) *khamisati,* (br, sd, jtr, etc.) *vaḍhisiti,* (D, bh), *hosati,* (mk), *hesati,*[38] (sn, kb, sc) *bhākhati;*[37] Khar. D *bheṣidi*[37] <√*bhū, kariṣadi, payeṣidi* (<*pra-*+√*ci-*), *eṣidi, vihaṣidi* <*vi-*+√*hṛ.* P *esati, hohiti, lacchati* (<*lapsyate*), *hessati;* N *icchisyati, gachiṣyati,*[38] *dasyati,*[39] Pkt. *suṇissaï, karīhiī, ehii;* Ap. *hosaï, karesaï, karihaï, hohii* >*hohì;* BS *bheṣyati, abhiśraddadhiṣyati.*

34. By haplology from *sossasi.*
35. By haplology from **karisisi.*
36. Mere archaism or from *gamissasi* metri causa.
37. From the base **bhviṣya-.*
38. <**bhāṅkṣyati;* cf. Vedic *sākṣyati* <*sah.*
39. Also *gachiṣyāti, dasyāti* under the influence of the opt. See Burrow §99.

(ii) OIA *-te* (middle). P *hessate.*

(d) First person plural:

(i) OIA *-mas.* Khar. D *kariṣamu* (Cro 36); Pkt. *gamissāmo, pucchissāmo, dahāmo* >*dāhāmu* (Amg.), *suṇessāmo.*

(ii) OIA *-ma* (secondary). P *yācissāma, kāhām, hessāma;*[40] Pkt. *hossāma* (gram.).

(iii) OIA *-mas.* (primary) or *-ma* (secondary), N *kariṣyama.*

(iv) *-huṃ* (see pres.). Ap. *karissahũ.*

(v) *-mha* (see pres.). Mg. *yāṇiśśamha,* Ś *sakissamha.*

(vi) Extension of 3 PL. Ap. *hosahiṃ.*

(vii) *-mase* (see pres.). P *sikkhissāmase.*

(e) Second person plural.

(i) OIA *-tha.* A (D) *ālādhayisatha,* (J) *ālādhayisathā,*[40] (D) *ehatha,* (J) *esatha;* P *pahassatha* (<*pra-hā*), *dakkhissatha;* Ś *naïssadha;* Amg. *bhavissaha;* J, M *sakkissaho;* Amg. *kāhiha;* BS *śruṇiṣyatha.*

(f) Third person plural:

(i) OIA *-nti.* A (G) *anusāsisaṃti,* (S) *aṇapeśaṃti,* (S) *kaṣaṃti,* (D, J, T, etc.) *jānisaṃti,* (Ś) *vaḍheśaṃti,* (G) *vadhayisaṃti;* (T) *daḍhisaṃti, hosaṃti, hohaṃ;* (T, etc.) *dāhaṃti;* (S, M) *arabhiśaṃti,*[41] (K, D, J) *ālabhiśaṃti;*[41] P *kāhaṃti, kāhiṃti, gamissaṃti;* N *deyiṣyaṃti, kariṣyaṃti;* Amg. *tarihinti, sijjhissanti;* J, M *dāhinti;* Amg. S *karissanti;* Amg. J, M *karehinti;* Ś *karaïssanti;* Amg. *karessanti;* M *bhaṇihinti;* Ap. *karihiṃti;* BS *bheṣyanti, kāhinti.*

(ii) *-hiṃ* (see pres.). Ap. *hosahiṃ, jāṇissahiṃ.*

(iii) OIA *-re* (middle; see pres.). A (G) *anuvatisare;* P *vasissare, bhavīssare, karissare.*[42]

40. The ending may be OIA. *-thās* (secondary middle SG.).
41. Passive.
42. GEIGER §150.

5. The Conditional

§136. The OIA conditional (a preterite to the future) is found only in Pali and as a Sanskritism: *abhavissa* (<*abhaviṣyat*), *abhavissaṃsu* (=*abhaviṣyan*), *akkamissatha* (=*akramiṣyata*, third per. SG. middle).

§137. In late Ap. the present participle was used for the conditional (as also for the simple future, past and present).[43] *karemto....nissaramto, homto .... pāvimto* (Vasu).

6. The Optative

§138. The subjunctive and the optative mood fell together in MIA. The former was already a dying idiom and the optative was gaining in importance in OIA. Although the subjunctive was not unknown in early MIA but its use was indistinguishable from the optative. The only traces of the formal subjunctive that remained to the last are the lengthened modal stem and the use of the primary terminations for the secondary in the optative.

§139. The *-ti* and *-si* forms of the optative generally (e.g. A (S, M) *siyati,* (K) *siyāti,* N *siyati,* P *karejjāsi* etc.) are new formations by attaching primary endings to the optative base and are not continuations of the OIA subjunctive because the subjunctive with the primary ending (which was an Indo-Iranian innovation) was very rare in the Brahmaṇas. That A (S, M, K) *siyati* (=*huveyati* D, J) is as much subjunctive as optative is attested by the corresponding *asa* in the other versions.

§140. The pure subjunctive occurs sporadically only in very early MIA. There are:

(a) Second person: Sg. P. *vitarāti.*[44]

Pl., P *bhavātha;* A (T) *paliyovadātha,*[45] *vicāsayātha,*[45] *vivāsāpayātha.*[45]

43. Cf. Puruṣottama (ed. Nitti-Dolci XVII 77) *traikālye śatṛ*

44. Geiger §123.

45. Such lengthening of the modal affix is found in the Brahmanas *bhávātha; hánātha*).

(b) Third person: Sg. A (sn) *huvāti*[46]; (G, D) *asa* (<*ásat*).[47]

Pl. A (G) *maññā* (<*manyāt*).

§141. In early MIA there were not a few inherited thematic optatives and a few of them appear in Pkt. also (e.g. *bhave* <*bhavet*). But the regular formation of the mood is by treating the optative base as simplex and adding the strong optative affix and then primary and secondary endings. Thus: *kareya-, kareyya-, karejja-* (>*karijja-*) <*kare* (as from **karet*) + *-yā-* (*-ya-*).

§142. The optative affix *-yā-* (*-ya-*) and the passive affix *-ya-* became practically identical by the same process of phonological change. So in the late Pkt. and Ap. the optative became identical with the passive which was assuming the sense of the active.

§143. The conjugation of the optative is given below.

1. First person: Singular.

(a) Old formation:

(i) Historical forms (including formations from MIA stems), active: A (G) *gacheyaṃ*, (S) *vraceyaṃ*; (T) *abhyuṃnāmayehaṃ*,[48] (D, J) *ālabhehaṃ*,[48] (D) *paṭipādayehaṃ*,[48] (J) *paṭipātayehaṃ*,[48] (D, J, K, M) *yehaṃ*,[48] P *pabbajeyyaṃ*; Ś *laheaṃ, bhaveaṃ*; BS *dadeyaṃ*.

(ii) Historical forms,[49] middle: M *kuppejja*.[49]

(b) New formation:

(iii) OIA *-ā* (subjunctive). Amg. *muccejjā*.[50]

(iv) OIA *-mi* (probably added to subjunctive *-ā*). P *kareyyāmi*;[50] M *ṇejjāmi*; Amg. *kareyyāmi*.

46. The reading is *huvā ti* which may have come from **bhuvāt iti*.
47. May have been from the old opt. **asyāt*, cf. P *assa, assu*.
48. *yehaṁ* <*-yeyam*, the intervocatic change of *-y-*> *-h-* also noticeable in the East Central dialect.
49. May also have come from third per. **kupyeyat*.
50. May also be an extension of third per. **mucyāt*, **mucyeyāt*.

2. Second person singular.

(a) Historical:

(i) OIA *-s*: Amg. *gacche, care, paḍigahe.*

(b) New formation:

(ii) OIA imp.:[51] P *yāeyya;* Amg. *viṇayejja.*

(iii) OIA *-hi* (imp., act.): Amg. *vandejjāhi;* M *hasejjahi.*

(iv) OIA *-su* (imp., mid.). M *kuṇijjāsu;* JM *karejjāsu;* Ap. *karijjasu.*

(v) OIA *-si* (double opt., present). N *kareyasi;* P *kareyyāsi;* Amg. *nivedijjāsi, vaṭṭejjāsi, haṇejjasi, bihejjāsi* (<*bhī*).

(vi) OIA -s. Amg. *udāharijjā;*[54] BS *satkareyāḥ.*

3. Third person singular.

(a) Historical:

(i) A (G) *bhave,* (J) *uṭhāye* (<**utthāyet*), (K, D, J, T etc.) *siyā,* (S, M) siya; P *icche, hane; Khar.* D *siya, bhaje, savasi* <*saṃvaset, cari* <*caret;* A (G, D) *asa;* BS *asyāt, asya* (Sanskritisation of *assa*); P *assa* <**asyāt.*

(b) New formation:

(ii) OIA *-t* (subj. to the opt. base).[52] A (G) *tiṣteya,* (J, T etc.) *siya,* (D, J) *huveya,* (M) *nivaṭeya* (Rdh, Mth, Rp, Ksb), *pāpova,*[53] P *bhāsejja;* Khar. D *muce'a* <*muñcayet, prahare'a, vi'ane'a'* <*vi-* √*jñā, ya'e'a* <*yajet.*

(iii) OIA *-t, -ti.* A (S, M) *siyati,* (D) *siyāti,* (K) *śiyāti,* (T) *vaḍheyāti,*[55] (S, M) *apakareyati,* (mk) *adhigacheyāti,*[54] (K) *patipajeyāti.*[55] (S) *nivaṭeyati,*[55] (sn) *huvāti,*[56] (D, J)

51. May be an extension of the first pers. mid. or third person act.

52. Or extension of first per. SG. middle.

53. <**prāpṇoyat* (opt.) or **prāpṇavat* (subj.). It may be a mistake for *pāpovā* q.v.

54. *ti* may be <*iti.*

55. It may be subj. **bhuvāti* or opt. **bhūyāti* or precative *bhūyāt iti.*

vivaṭeyā, paṭipapeyā, (bh) *diseyā;* (T, Ksb) *pāpovā;*[53] N *bhaveyati, siyati, kareyati, deyati;* P *bhāseyya, jāneyyāti;* Amg. *kareyyā, kubbeyyā, kujjā, hojjā, dejjā;* Ap. *hojjā, hojja.*

(iv) Extension of historical forms: P *passe, jīve;* Ś *lahe, bhave.* Also used for the first and second persons.

(v) *-tha*[56] (middle). A (G) *paṭipajetha;* P *rakkhetha, labhetha.*

4. First person plural.

(a) Historical:

(i) Active: A (D, J) *gacchema,* (K) *dipayema,* (G) *dīpayema,* (D) *paṭipādayema,* (J) *patipaṭayema;* P *sikkhema, vasemu,*[57] *jānemu.*[57]

(ii) Middle: P *sādhayemase, vademase.*

5. Second Person: Plural.

(a) Historical: (i) Khar. D *bhavetha* (Aa 8).

(ii) *-thas* (originally dual): P. *labhetho.*

(b) New formation: P *āneyyātha, gaccheyyātha, bhuñjetha.*

6. Third person plural.

(a) Historical formation:

(i) Active: A (S, M) *śruṇeyu,* (S, M) *suśruṣeyu,* (K) *ṣuṣuṣeyu,* (K) *haṃneyu* (pass), (J) *heyu* (<**bhveyuḥ*), (K, M) *huveyu,* (D) *huvevū,* (D, J) *pāpunevu,* (T etc.) *anugahinevu,* (sn) *yāvu* (<**yāyuḥ*), (J) *laheyu,* (D) *lahevu,* (T etc.) *upadahevū,* (br. sd) *pakameyu;* (br) *jāneyu;* P *saheyyuṃ, pajaheyyu.*

(ii) Middle: (i) Historical: A (G) *sususera.* (ii) *-tha* (from 2 PL. or 3 SG.): A (G) *paṭivedetha;* P *āsetha.*[58]

56. May have been modelled from pres. *-thās* or from aorist-imperfect.
57. With pres. ending.
58. See GEIGER §129.

(b) New formation:

(ii) With the primary (subj.) ending. N *deyāṃti, deyeyaṃ, uṭhaveyaṃti.*

(iii) *-su* (from the aorist). A (S) *haṃñeyasu, siyasu.*

7. The Preterite

§144. Of the three preterite tenses of OIA the perfect had been lost before MIA started on its career. The only relics of OIA perfect stem that were inherited were some forms of *ah-* and *vid-* which had practically assumed the value of the present in OIA. *ah-* was treated as a present base and had the ending of the present in the North Western dialect (e.g., A (S) *ahati, hahati*[59] N *ahati*). The forms of the root that were current in the other dialects were *āha* (A (S), P, Khar. D, Pkt.), *āhu* (P and Amg.) and the new formation *āhaṃsu* (P, Amg.). Both *āhu* and *āhaṃsu* in Amg. were used irrespective of person and number.[60] The other unreduplicated perfect with the value of the present in OIA, *ved-* (*vid-*), was probably a learned heritage, e.g., P *vidū, viduṃ* (third person PL.). The perfect stem *jajñā* occurs in two old Pali forms, *jaññā* (subj. third SG.) and *vijaññaṃ* (opt. first SG.).

§145. The imperfect and the aorist coalesced (as in Old Persian). By the phonological loss of the final consonants of the personal termination, the imperfect and the non-sigmatic aorist generally assumed the stem form (i.e. second person SG., third person SG. and PL. active) or became identical with another form and thus was often confused with the optative.[61] (This accounts for Amg. *dejjā = adāt; buyā = abravīt, pucche = apṛcchat, acche = ācchindyāt*). The sigmatic aorist forms remained distinct even after the loss of the final consonants of the personal termination. This is why the aorist persisted and the imperfect collapsed in early MIA. The aorist

59. For prothetic h- cf. N *hach'ati.*

60. See Pischel §518.

61. See Pischel §§466, 515, 516. So in Mahābhārata: *dadyāt=adāt, haret=aharat, brūyāḥ=abravīḥ* etc.

did not survive bodily, it only gave some new personal terminations (e.g. first person SG. *-saṃ* and *-ṃ*, third person PL. **-su*) and sometimes the base (e.g. *hū-* <*bhū*, *kās-* <*kṛ* etc.). In Asokan the preterite forms are more akin to the imperfect than to the aorist.

§146. The inflected preterite tense was not popular in MIA. In Asokan only eight verbs[62] have imperfect-aorist forms and all except one are third person SG. and PL. Of these only one (*bhū*) has four forms (first SG., third SG., act. and mid. and third PL.), one (*niṣ-kram*) three forms (third SG., act. and mid. third PL.), one (*yā, ni-yā*) only two forms (third SG. and PL.) while the rest are represented by a single form each (third SG. and PL.). The imperfect aorist forms in P are varied and numerous but that was merely archaism and Sanskritism. The same thing must be said for Amg. where however the finite preterite is much less copious and varied.

§147. The total absence of the finite past tense in N and in Ap. indicates the archaic artificiality of P and Amg. In the second MIA the real inheritance of the OIA preterite were one or two forms of the verb substantive such as *āsi* (<*āsīt*) and *nāsi* (<*nāsīt*), *hotthā* (<**bhosthāḥ*), *ahu* (<*abhūt*) etc., were used as indeclinable i.e. invariable in person and number. Mahābhārata. In P ahuvā <*bhū* is used for the three persons in SG. So in BS *āsi* (1, 3 SG.), *abhū* (1, 3 SG.), *abhūṣi* (3 SG., PL.).

§148. The augment was not used. In Asokan only three imperfect (*aho, ayāya*) and one aorist (*ñayāsu*) forms show the augment. The retention of the augment in Pali is undoubtedly artificial. The augmented forms in Amg. are certainly Sanskritisms.

§149. The conjugation of the preterite is as follows.

1. First person singular.

(i) Imperfect: P *āsiṃ, abraviṃ*.

62. *bhū, yā (ni-yā), niṣ-kram, ā-locay, iṣ, man* and *vṛdh*.

(ii) Aorist:

(a) Root aorist: P *ahuṃ* (√*bhū*), *adaṃ* (√*dā*).

(b) *a-aorist*: : P *agamaṃ*.

(c) *is*-aorist: (α) P *agamiṃ* (√*gam*.), (a) *carim* (√*car*).

(β) P *agamisaṃ* (√*gam*). Cf. RV *akramīm*, *āgṛbhīm*, *vadhīm*.

(d) *sa-aorist*: A (br, sd) *husaṃ*, (yr) *husa*(*ṃ*), P *ahosiṃ* (√*bhū*).

(e) *sis-aorist*: P *agamisaṃ* (√*gam*), *assosim* (√*śru*).

(f) Originally conditional: Amg. *akarissaṃ* (√*kṛ*), *pacchisaṃ* (√*pṛch*, present stem).

2. Second person singular:

(i) Imperfect: *āsi* (√*as*).

(ii) Aorist:

(a) Root aorist: P *ahū* (√*bhū*); *ado*, *adadā* (√*dā*).

(b) *a*-aorist: P *agamā* (√*gam*).

(c) *is*-aorist: (α) P *agami* (√*gam*), *kari* (√*kṛ*).

(d) *siś*-aorist: P *aññāsi* (√*jñā*), *akāsi* (√*kṛ*), *assosi* (√*śru*); Amg. (a)*kāsi* (√*kṛ*), *vayāsi* (√*vad*).

3. Third person singular:

(i) Imperfect: A (S, M, G, K, D) *aho* (√*bhū*), A (G) *ayāya* (√*yā*); P *āsi*, Pkt. *āsī* (√*as*); Amg. *abbavi* (√*brū*).

(ii) Aorist:

(a) Root aorist: P *ahū* (*ahu*), Amg. *abhu* (√*bhū*); P *adā* (√*dā*).

(b) *a*-aorist: P *ahuvā* (√*bhū*), *agamā* (√*gam*); Amg. *bhuvi* (√*bhū*).

(c) *is*-aorist: P *agami* (√*gam*), *kari* (√*kṛ*), *vedi* (√*vid*); Amg. *acāri* (√*car*).

(d) *sis*-aorist: P *ahosi*, *ahesi* (√*bhū*), *akāsi* (√*vkṛ*), *aññāsi* (√*jñā*), *assosi* (√*śru*); Amg., Ap. *ahesi* (√*bhū*); Amg. (a)*kāṣi* (√*kṛ*), *ṭhāsi* (√*sthā*), *vayāsi* (√*vad*).

(e) Middle: A (T) *huthā* (√*bhū*), *vadithā* (√*vad*); A (Su) *nikhamithā* (√*niṣ-kram*); J *kamiyitha* (√*kam*); A *abhassatha* (√*bhraṃś*), *pucchittha* (√*pṛch*), P *udapattha* (√*ud-pad*); BS *nilīyotha* (Mahā); Amg. *hotthā* (√*bhū*).

4. First person plural:

(a) *a*-aorist: P *agamāma*.

(b) Sigmatic aorist: P *adamha* (√*dā*) *ahuvamha* (√*bhū*). *assumha* (√*śru*), *agamimha;* Amg. *vacchāmu* (√*vaś*).

5. Second person plural:

(a) *a*-aorist: *agamatha.*

(b) Sigmatic aorist: *agamattha akattha* (√*kṛ*), *adattha* (*dā*), *assuttha* (√*śru*), *ahuvāttha, pucchittho;* BS *vadittha* (with *mā*).

6. Third person plural:

(a) Imperfect: P *āsuṃ* (√*as*), *abrabuṃ* (√*brū*).

(b) Root aorist: *adu*(*ṃ*) (√*dā*); *ahū, ahuṃ* (√*bhū*).

(c) *a*-aorist: P *agamuṃ.*

(d) Sigmatic aorist: A (D) *nikhami* and (S, M) *nikrami* (SG. for PL.); A (G) *āhaṃsu* (*ah*); A (M, K, T, ru, mk) *husu,* (S) *abhuvusu* (√*bhū*); A (T) *ichisu* (*iṣ*); A (K) *maniṣu,* (S) *mañisu,* (√*man*); A (S, M) *nikramṣu,* (K, D) *nikhamisu,* (M, K, D, J) *alocayiṣu,* (S) *loceṣu* (√*locay*); A (G) *ārabhisu,* (S) *arabhiyisu* (√*arabh,* pass.) P *akaṃsu, akāsuṃ* (√*kṛ*); *agamiṃsu, agamisuṃ* (√*gam*); *ahesuṃ* (√*bhū*), *aṭṭhaṃsu* (√*sthā*); Amg. *bhāsiṃsu, vediṃsu.*

§150. The aorist (injunctive with *mā* is a living idiom in Buddhistic MIA: Khar. D *ma gami, ma uvaca'i* (=P *upaccagā*), *ma pramadi.* BS *mā vadittha.*

8. The Periphrastic Preterite

§151. The assumption of the function of the past tense of the finite verb by the passive past participle began insipiently in Indo-Iranian and become quite pronounced in Sanskrit. The

use of the passive past participle with the substantive verbs *as* and *bhū*, constituting a periphrastic preterite, is already noticeable in RV (e.g. *dhūmás te ketúr abhavad diví śritáḥ*) and in the Brāhmaṇas an accepted idiom (e.g. *devāsurāḥ saṃyattā āsan*).[63] The appearance of the periphrastic perfect in Vedic prose indicated the line of development of the periphrastic preterite in MIA and NIA. The past tense in Niya[64] and Ap. follows that line. In the first and second per. of the inflected OIA periphrastic future the forms of *as* followed the participle which invariably was Nom. SG. and in the third person only the inflected future participle. In Niya the preterite was of course the past participle, and the Nom. SG. and PL. being identical in form the affix *-nti* (present PL. -(*a*)*nti* strengthened by *santi* the PL. of the verb substantive) was added. The other endings, *-mi* (first SG.), *-ma* (first PL.), *-si* (second SG.) and *-tha* (second PL.) are as much OIA personal terminations as the corresponding forms of *as*: (*a*)*smi*, *smas*, (*a*)*si*, *stha*.[65]

§152. The conjugation in Niya is as follows:

(a) Singular first person: N *agatemi* (<*āgato'smi*), *ayidemi* <*āyāto'smi*), *hudemi* (<*bhūto'smi*), *tidemi* (<**dito'smi*), *vikrīḍemi* (<*vikrīto'smi*), *śrutemi, gatosmi, ṣadosmi* (also *sademi*), *prihitosmi* (<*prīto'smi*), *prahidasmi* (also *prahidemi* (<*prahito'smi*). Pkt. *gadamhi, āṇattamhi;* Ap. *āruḍhomi, uttiṇṇomi, nīomi* (Vasu); etc.

(b) Singular second person: N (i) *gadesi* (<*gato'si*), *ditesi* (<**dito'si*), *hudesi, vikridesi, visajidesi.*

(ii) *likhitetu* (<*likhitaḥ tuám*), *picavidetu* (<*pratyāpitaḥ tuám*), *visajitetu.*

(c) Singular third person: *āyita*[66] (<*āyātam* or *āyātaḥ*); *giṭa* (<*gṛhītaṃ*), *gimnita* (<**gṛhṇitam*), *likhida* (also *lihita*), *vikrinita* (<**vikrīṃitam*), *vis* (*ar*) *jita, thavita, ichita.*

63. MACDONELL, *Vedic Grammar for Students* §207a, b.
64. BURROW §105.
65. GEIGER §173.

(d) Plural first person: *ayitama* (<*ayātāḥ sma*), *kridama, tidama, hutama, śrutama, visajidama.*

(e) Plural second person: *kiṭatha; ichidetha, picavidetha.*

(f) Plural third person: *gataṃti, gadaṃti* (<*gatāḥ santi*), *aitaṃti, āyida(ṃ)ti,*[66] *ichitaṃti, kateṃti, kritaṃti, giṃnitaṃti; nitaṃti, nida(ṃ)ti,*[67] *picavitaṃti, prahitaṃti, maritaṃti* (<*māritāḥ santi* = *amārayan*), *mṛtaṃti* (<*mṛtāḥ santi* = *amriyanta*), *visajitaṃti, srutaṃti, hutaṃti.*

9. The Passive

§153. The passive differed from the active only in the base. The passive affix *-ya-* however was assimilated to the final consonant of the *seṭ* root, and such bases were often confused with the actitve. With *aniṭ* roots *-ya-* became *-i(y)a; -ī(y)a-* or *-jja-*[68] (through *-yya-* of such passive causatives as *cāyya-*[69] <*ci, tāyya-*[69] <*tan-*) and remained distinct throughout (although the *-jja-* forms of the passive partly coalesced with the optative in *-jja-*).

§154. The middle endings survived to some extent in the Western dialect of Asokan and as artificial archaism in Pali.

§155. Some typical passive forms are given below.

A (T, etc.) *khādiyati* (pres. 3 SG.); (S, M, G, K, T, etc.); *anuvidhīyaṃti, anuvidhiyaṃti* (pres. 3 PL.); (G) *anuvidhiyatāṃ* (imp. 3 SG. mid.); (K) *anuvidhiyaṃtu* (imp. 3 PL.); (K, D, J) *ālabhiyisu* (aor. 3 PL.); Khar. D. *diśadi, parimucadi, lipadi, vucadi.* N *śruyati, lihyati, pariniyaṃti, lipadi.* P *dīyati, diyyati* (=*dīyate*), *bhājiyati* (=*bhājyate*), *harīyati* (=*haryate*). BS *mucyiṣu, saṃyujyiṣu* (aor. 3 PL.), *ucyanti*

66. *āyita- is probably a contamination between *āyāta-* + *ita-*.
67. The nasal lost after da (see Burrow §109).
68. Not in Asokan.
69. As in the derivative *-cāyya-* and the passive participle *tāyyámāna-*.

(pres. 3 PL.). Pkt. *dharijjaï* (pres. 3 SG.), *sumarijjauṃ* (imp. 3 SG.); Ś *gamīadu* (imp. 3 SG.); Mg. *iścīadi* (pres. 3 SG.); M *ḍajjhihii* (fut. 3 SG.), *pijjaï* (<*pīyate*). Ap. *dijjaï*, *kijjaï*, *bhaṇijjaï*, *hojjaü* (imp. 3 SG.).

10. The Causative and The Denominative

§156. The causative and the denominative had identical treatment in MIA. Some of the historical forms continued right up to the end. The specific MIA formation however was with the affix -(*ā*)*paya*- which in OIA occurs only with monosyllabic roots in -*ā* (e.g. *dāpayati, māpayati, jñāpayati, jñapayati*).[70] The affix was often attached to the historical causative base. Examples:

(i) -*aya*- formation: A (G, M) *vaḍhayati*, (Ś) *vaḍheti*, (K) *vaḍhiyati;*[71] (D) *dukhiyati* (*denom.*), (Ś) *dipayami* (denom.); Khar. D *bhava'i*, P *bhāvaye* <*bhāvayet* (opt.); Khar. D *deśedi;* Khar. D *ghasedi*, P *ghāteti;* P *kareti* >*kārayati*, *vaḍḍheti* >*vardhayati; mamāyati* (denom, <*mama*), *saddhāyati, sukheti, aṭṭīyati* (*ārta*-); Kharavela *kārayati;* Pkt., Ap. *kārei.*

(ii) -*paya*- formation: A (K, D, J) *ānapayāmi*, (G) *ñapayāmi*, (S) *aṇapayami*, (S, M) *aṇapemi* (<*ā-jñā*-); (M) *anumijhapayati* (<*anu-ni-dhyā*), (Ś) *anunijhapeti*, (G) *sukhāpayāmi* (denom.); Kharavela *bandhāpayati, vamḍāpayati;* P *āṇāpeti, paññāpeti, muñcāpeti, kārāpeti* (double caus.; *sukhāpeti* (denom.); N *uthaveti, uthaveyati* (<*ut-sthā*-); *viṃñaveti, sthaveṃti darśaveti* (double caus.), *karmaveti* (denom.); Ś *āṇavedi, viciṇāvedi;* Amg. *kārāvemi* (double caus.), *ṭhāvei, kaṃāvei;* Mg. *lihāvemi;* Amg. *veḍhāvei* (denom.); Ap. *karāvei, dekkhāvahi* (imp. 2 SG.).

(iii) The regular causative *pārayāmi* (√*pṛ*) had developed an alternative form in OIA: *pālayāmi* which became

70. In Mahābhāṣya (3. I. 2) these three caus. denominatives are noted: *arthāpayati, vedāpayati, satyāpayati.*

71. Passive *vardhyate* or active **vardhīyati* (like denom. *sukhiyati*).

the causative of √*pā* 'to protect'. The analogy of this form brought about in Ap. *dalayāmi* as a causative of √*dā*.

§157. In P the denominative sometimes did not have the usual base affix *-aya-* (as in late Skt. *putrati, khoḍati*): *ussukati* (<*utsuka-*), *paripañhati* (<*paripraśna-*). Ap. *kahaï* may be derived from *kathayati* through second MIA *kahei* or from **kathati* direct.

§158. Some denominative stems were treated as ordinary stems. *paccappinissaṃ* (<*pratyarpaṇa-*; Vasu).

11. The Desiderative and the Intensive

§159. The desiderative and the intensive were not regular features in MIA conjugation. A few of the OIA forms continued in the early MIA and fewer forms survived in second MIA.

Examples:

(A) Desiderative: A (G) *sususera*, (K) *ṣuṣuṣeyu* (S, M) *suśruṣeyu* (opt.), (D, J) *susūsatu, sussusatu* (imp.). Khar. D *titikṣadi;* P *sussūsati, jigucchati, tikicchati* (<*sikitsa-*), *jigiṃsati,*[72] *dicchati* (<*ditsa-*); Amg. *sussūsaï, tikicchaï, du(g)uccaï* (gram.), *du(g)uñchaï* (gram.); Ś *jugucchedi;* M *juucchaï* (<*jugupsa-*).

(B) Intensive: P *vīmaṃsati* (<*mīmāṃs-*), *caṅkamati, daddallati* (<*jājvalya-*), *momuhati* (<*momuh-*), *vavakkhati* (=*vivakṣ-*); Amg. *lālappaï* (<*lālapya-*).

§160. In late Pkt. and Ap. a denominative stem (generally onomatopoetic) sometimes carried the sense of the intensive. Thus: *mahamahaï* "emits heavy fragrance", *khusakhusaï* "prompts repeatedly", *taḍapphaḍaï* "works hastily and anxiously", *gammāgammaï* "goes and comes repeatedly".

12. The Negative Verb

§161. The negative particle had been from the early times combined with the verb substantive *as* to form such

72. OIA *jigīṣati*; for *ī* : *iṁ* cf. *viṁśati* : *vīsati*.

words as *nāsti* >*natthi*, *nāsīt* >*nāsi* > *nāhi*, *nāsan* > *nāha*. The prefixation of the negative particle had separated these forms from the inflected forms of *as* so that these soon became generalised forms used for all numbers and persons. In the Rock Edicts of Asoka (II all the versions, VI only K, D, J)[73] *nāsti-nathi* is used with a PL. Nom. (NT.).[74] In N *nasti* is a strong negative, used as an adverb with a finite verb (*sach'i iśa nasti hutaṃti*)[74] and *asti* is a strong affirmative (*yava asti siyati*).[75] Cf. A (G) *asti jano ucāvacaṃ maṅgalam karote* (so in other versions), *nāsi* occurs in Amg. for all persons and numbers; *nāhi* and *nāha* occur in Ap. practically as negative particles. Another negative verb occurs in late Ap., *ṇāṇāï* (<*na* (*hi*) -*jānāti*, *najjaï* (*<*na-jñāti*). Middle Bengali *nāre* "is not able" goes back to late Ap. **naāraï* <*nā-pārayati*.

13. The Present Participle

§162. The OIA act. pres. participle in -*nt* has survived throughout and except dialectally in early MIA and in Amg. it had replaced the middle forms in -*māna* (with its variant -*mīna*-) and -*āna*. The -*nt* stems were brought over to the -*a* declension, to which pleonastic -*ka* was added in BS and Ap. The forms in -*nta-ka* developed the sense of the future in Ap. Thus: *tumaṃ kaṇho geṇhaṇatāgo* 'K. will accept you' (Vasu), *dhāijjaṃtagaṃ* = *dhāviṣyamāṇam* (Vasu).

§163. The following are the main types of the present participle.

A. Originally active.

(i) -*nt*-: Nom. SG. Khar. D *icho* (B50), *aṇuvicida'o*, *aṇusvaro* (<*anusmaran*), *apaśu* (<*apaśyan*), *sabaśu* (<*saṃpaśyan*), *pariyara*; P *jīvaṃ*, *jānam*; A (G) *karu* (*m*) (<**karvant*-).

73. *nathi hi kaṁmatalā*.
74. Cf. *tṛṇā ca ye kecid asti auṣadhīyo* (Mahāvastu).
75. Burrow § 95.

Nom. PL. A (G) *tiṣṭaṃto;* P *icchato.*

Instr. SG. P. *icchatā.*

Gen. PL. P *vijānataṃ, karotaṃ, kurutaṃ.*

(ii) *-nta-*: A *saṃta-; asata-* (<**aśnant-*); (G) *karāta-, karota-;* (S, M) *kara(ṃ)ta-;* (K, D, J) *kalaṃta-;* (T) *anupaṭipajaṃta-, nāsaṃta-;* (J) *saṃpaṭipātayaṃta-;* Khar. D *j(h) ayadu* <**dhyāyantaḥ* Nom. SG.); Kharavela *janeto* (Nom. SG.): P *kandanta-, nipataṃta-;* BS *rudaṃta-;* N *saṃta, janaṃda;* Pkt. (FM.) *santī, bhaṇantī;* Ap. *acchanta-, jāṇanta-, pianta-, huṇanta-, cāhanta-, honta-, jaṃta-* (<*yant-*).

(iii) *-ntaka-*: Nasik *sat(a)ka-;* BS *rodantaka,* (FM.) *dadantikā-;* N *jivaṃdag'a;* Ap. *jaṃtaü* (<**yāntakaḥ*), *hontaü* (<**bhavantaka-*).

(iv) *-nt-* (lost): P *jāna-, passa-, anukubba-.*

B. Originally middle.

(v) *-māna-*: A (G) *bhuṃjamāna-;* (K, D, J) *adamāna-;* (S) *aśamana-;* (T) *anuvekhamāna-;* (S, K) *vijinamana-* (pass); (br, sd) *samāna-* (<**asamāna-*); Khar. D *ḍajhamano* (pass.) <*dahyamānaḥ;* N *gachamana, karemana;* P *bhuñjamāna-, kubbamāna-, añhamāna-* (<**aśnamāna-*), *kayiramāna* (pass.), *samāna-;* Amg. *pecchamāṇa-, suṇamāṇa-, samāṇī* (FM.) Mg. *lodamāna-, maggamāṇa-* (pass.). BS *prajāyamānī* (FM.), *pṛcchiyamānīyo* (pass., Nom. PL. FM.); *geṇhamāṇo* (Vasu), Ap. *āgacchamānī-* (FM. Vasu.). Ap. *āgacchamānī.*

(vi) **-mīna-* (resulted from contammination between *-māna* and *īna* (e.g. *āsīna-*)): A (S) *karamīna-,* (J) *kalamīna-;* (D) *vipaṭi-padayamīna-, saṃpaṭipajamīna-;* (s) *palakamāmīna-;* (sd, ru, b) *pakamamina-;* (br) *pakamamiṇa-;* (T, Ksb, Rdh, Mth, Rp) *pāyamīna-;* Amg. (mostly in *Āyaraṅgasutta*) *āgamamīṇa-, āsāmīṇa-, bhīsamīṇa-.*

76. The only form OIA is *ā'sīna-* beside the normal *āsāná-*.
77. According to Hemacandra.

(vii) *-āna-*: P (mostly in old verse): *kubbāṇa-*, *patthayāna-*, *paripucchiyāna-* (pass.); Amg. *buyābuyāṇa-* (<**bruvābhuvāṇa-*).

(viii) *īna-*:[76] P *āsīna-*; M *melīṇa-* (<*mil-*).[77]

14. The Future Participle

§164. The OIA future active principle in *-nt* occurs in P and Amg. as very rare archaisms. The stems have been brought over to the vowel declension by dropping the final conjunct. The forms occurring are all MC. Acc. SG. or NT. Nom. SG.). *Thus*: P *marissaṃ*, *paccessaṃ*; Amg. *āgamissaṃ*, *bhavissaṃ*.

15. The Past Participle

§165. As in OIA there were two affixes for the past participle, *-ná* and *-(i)tá*. The former appears in historical forms some of which are not attested in OIA. The latter was a living affix as new words were formed with it from MIA verb bases.

Some *seṭ* roots are treated optionally as *aṇiṭ* in MIA: *paruṇṇa-* (=*prarudita-*), *ābhaṭṭha* (=*abbāṣita-*).

166. The MIA formation with *-na* and *-(i)ta* are classified below.

(i) *-na-*: A (T, Mi, Ksb, Rdh, Mth, Rp) *diṃna-*, (bb) *dina-*; (T) *anūpatipaṃna-*; P *tunna-*, *ruṇṇa-*, *chinna-*; Pkt. *diṇṇā* (FM.); Ap. *diṇṇī* (FM.) BS *runna-* = *rudita-*. Pkt. *papalīṇu* = *prapalāyitaḥ*.

(ii) *-(i)ta-*: A *vaḍhita-*, *likhita-*, *kaṭa-*, *mata-*, *hārāpita-*; (K, D, J M) *hūta-*; (S, M, G, K, D, J, T) *bhūta-*; (G) *hārāpita-*; (K, D, J) *hālāpita-*; (S, M) *harapita-*; (sd, br) *upayīta-*; (S, K, D, T, Mi) *abhisita-*; (ru) *usapāpita-* (<**ut-śrapāpita-*); Khar. D *aprata-* <*aprāpta-*, *sañata-* <*saṃyata-*, *varada* <*uparata-*; P *ñāta-*, *bhūta*, *kata-*, *vusita-* (<*vas-*), *gacchita-*, *maññita-*, *chijjita-* (<*chidya-*), *khādiyita-*; Nasik *kīṇita-*; N *ichita*, *thavita*, *lihita*, *giṃnita* (<**gṛhṇita*), *giṭa* (<*gṛhīta-*), *chiṃniṭa* (<*chind-*); M *vuṭṭha-* (<*vi-vas*);

jāṇia-; Ś *jāṇida-*; *gahida- gihida-*, *jaṇida-* (<jan-); Amg. *gahiya-*, *jaṭṭha-* (<**yaṣṭa-*), *buiya-* (<**bruvita-*); Ap. *haṇia-* (<**hanita-*), *jālī* (<*jvālita-*) *diṭṭhi* (FM.), *pucchia-*, *pāvia-*, *rutta-* <*ropita-* + *upta-*; *acchiya-* (√*as*); etc.

There are some peculiar formations like *-aḍhatta-* (<*dhā*). Like OIA *datta*[1] it is derived from the reduplicated stem: *-dhadh*.

(iii) -* (*i*) *ta-ka-*: BS *āgataka-*; N *likhidag'a*, *likhiae*, *lihitae*, *lihitaya*; *ditae*, *didae*, *didaya*, *ditag'a*, (<**ditaka-*); *gacchidaga'a*; *thidag'a stitag'a*; Ap. *jāyao* (=*jātaḥ*), *mukkaü* (*muktakaḥ*).

(iv) -* (*i*) *tal* (*l*) *a-*: Ap. *mukkalao* (<**muktalakaḥ*).

(v) -**na* + *illa* + *ka* : Ap. *diṇṇellayaṃ* '(was) given' *haelliyāṇam* (<*hata-illa-ka-*, GEN., PL.), *āṇielliyaṃ* (<*ānīta-illa-ka-*, ACC. SG.) (Vasu).

§167. In Pkt. and Ap. primary derivatives appear as past participles. Thus: Ap. *paḍila-* <√*pat-*, *phulilla-* <√*sphur-*, *pucchillā*, *hasira-*. Pkt. *kala-* = *kṛta-*, *mūśa-* = *mūṣita-*, *khajja-* = *khādita-*; *roirī* (FM.) = *rudita-*.

16. The Possessive Past Participle

§168. The past participle with the possessive affix *-vant* and the sense of the perfect participle active does not occur in RV and occurs only once in AV (viz. *aśitā'vant-*). It hardly occurs in Vedic prose but is quite frequent in Sanskrit.

(i) The *-vant* form occurs as a very rare and archaic idiom in P (e.g. Nom. SG. *vusitavā*, GEN. SG. *vusitavataṃ*) and in Amg. (e.g. Nom SG. *puṭṭhavaṃ* = *spṛṣṭavān*).

(ii) The affix *-vin* (a variant of *-vant*) however is not infrequent in P (e.g. Nom. SG. *bhuttāvī*,[78] Acc. SG. *bhuttāviṃ*, Gen. SG. *bhuttāvissa*, etc.). Other instances in Buddh. MIA: Khar. D: *jitavi* (B 4); BS *darśāvī*.

78. After the analogy of *māyāvin* etc.

17. The Future Passive Participle

§169. The late Vedic affix *-tavyà* has been regularly used throughout MIA and developed into the future tense in the late Ap. and the eastern NIA dialects. The other late Vedic affix *-anī'ya-* was not very fruitful. *-ya* which was the characteristic future passive participle throughout OIA was soon lost in MIA as it was easily and inextricably assimilated to the final consonant of the root. The Ṛgvedic *-tva* (=*tua*) and *-ā'yya* (=*āyiya*) combined into A *-tavāya, -tavaya; -tva* and *-ya* resulted in *-tāya*. P *-tayya, -teyya* may have resulted from *-tva* + *-ya* or from *-tva* + *āyya*. P *-neyya*, Pkt. *nijja* originated from *-anīya-* + *-āyya*.

(i) *-tavyà* : A *katavya-, kaṭaviya-, kaṭava-; ichitaviya-; dakhitaviya-; prajuhitaviya-, pajohitaviya-, prayuhotava-; paṭivedetavya-, -taviya-;* etc. P *kattabba-, jinitabba-, jāyitabba-, saddahetabba-*. N *gaṃdavo, giṃnidavo, kartavo*. Pkt. *ho(d)avva-, jāṇi(d)avva-, kā(d)avva-*. Ap. *karebā, karebaü; jāṇebā*. Late Ap. *pābā, jābā, kabbā*.

(ii) *-tavāya, -tavaya* : A (ru) *vivasetavāya, lākhāpetavaya-* (=*likhāpetavaya-*).

(iii) *-taya* : A (J) *ichitaye*, (G) *pujetayā*.

(iv) *-tāya* : P *atasitāya-* (<*a-tras-*), *jāpetāya-, pabbājetāya-*.

(v) *-tayya, -teyya* : P *ñātayya-, ñāteyya-, daṭṭhayya-, daṭṭheyya-*.

(vi) *-anī'ya* : A (J) *asvāsaniya-;* (S, M, K) *vedaniya-;* P *pūjanīya-, labhaīya-*. Ś *pūaṇīa*. N *karaṃniya*.

(vii) *-neyya* (or **-nīyá*): P *pūjaneyya-;* Amg. *puaṇijja-*.

(viii) *-ya*: A (G) *kacam;* (D, J, s, b) *cakye;* (T, Mi, Rdh, Mth, Rp) *dekhiye;* (T, Ksb, Rdh, Mth, Rp) *dusaṃpaṭipādaye;* (Rdh, Mth, Rp) *avadhya-,* (T, Mi, Ksb) *avadhiya-*. N *kica*. P *neyya-, deyya-, khabba-, khejja-*. Amg. *peyya-, vacca-*. Ap. *duggejjha-* (*dur-* $\sqrt{}$*gṛh*).

18. The Infinitive

§170. The accusative infinitive in *-tum* which was the only inf. in Skt. but very rare in RV, was at best a dialectal feature in MIA. In A the only form occurs in G and then as NT. SG., viz. *ārādhetu*. Its occurrence in P (e.g. *sotuṃ, pappotuṃ, pucchituṃ*), Pkt. (e.g. *pucchi(d)uṃ, gami(d)uṃ, gantu(ṃ), kā(d)uṃ, so(d)uṃ, dīsium*) and Ap. (*acchiuṃ, gaheuṃ, daṭṭhuṃ* (from pass base) in Vasu) is partly dialectal and partly artificial. It is very rare in N (e.g. *kartu, ag'antu*).

§171. The dative infinitive which was entirely lost in Sanskrit occurs throughout (except in late Ap.):

(i) *-tave, -taväi* >*-tave*: A (G) *chamitave*, (D, J) *khamitave*; (sn) *ājānitave, visvaṃsavitave*; (D, J, T, Mi, Rdh, Mth, Rp) *ālādhayitave*; (s) *pāvātave*; (b) *vatave*; (br, sd) *ārādhetave*; (ru) *ārodhave* = *ārādhetave*; (T, Mi, Rdh, Mth, Rp) *palihaṭave*. P *dātave, gantave, rajetave*.

(ii) **-tvai*[79] >*-tuye*: P *kātuye, hetuye*.

(iii) **-tvāyai*[80] >-(*t*)tāye (cf. Vedic gerund *gatvāya, dṛṣṭvāya*): P *dakkhitāye, khāditāye*; Amg. *gamittae, gacchittae, bhottae*.

(iv) **-tāyai* >*-tā(y)e*: Amg. *pāyāe*.[81]

(v) *-āya, *-āyai*: A (G) *nisṭānāya*; (S) *chamanaye*; (D, J) *asvāsanāye*. N *karaṃnae, gachaṃnae, thiyaṃnae, śrunaṃnae*. P *karaṇāya, dassanāya-*.

(vi) *-se*:[82] P *etase*.

§172. From the earliest period there was a tendency of overlapping of the infinitive and the gerund. This culminated in Ap. where the infinitive and the gerund became identical in form (e.g. *lahivi, laheppi(ṇu)*). The specific infinitive in Ap was the Acc. SG. and the Gen. SG. of the verbal noun in

79. Cf. RV *íṣvai* Dat. SG. FM. of *iṣu-*.
80. Cf. RV *ityái*.
81. Cf. RV *pītáye*.
82. RV *áyase, caráse*.

-ana; e.g. *kahaṇa* (*ṇa sakkaï vatthu*); (*cīru ṇa*) *buṇaṇahaṃ* (*jāi*); (*maṇu*) *vāraṇahaṃ* (*ṇa jāi*). Cf. Pali gerund *anumodiyanaṃ* (GEIGER §214).

§173. The NT. SG. of primary derivatives in *-aka* was insipiently used as the inf. in early MIA, e.g. A *dāpakaṃ*, *srāvāpakaṃ* (*sāvakaṃ*); Nāgār. *-sa*(*ṃ*)*pādake*. BS (*agmāsi devi āmravanaṃ*) *nirīkṣikā* (Mahāvastu). Cf. Patañjali *yavān lávako vrajati.*

19. THE GERUND

§174. The MIA dialects inherited the OIA affixes *-tvā'*, *-yā* (*-tyā*, *-tya*), *-tvāya* and *tvī*. Innovations are the affixes *-tu* (from the inf.). **-tvāna* and **-tvīna*, **-tvana* (>-(*t*)*tūna*). The gerund was used often for the inf. and *vice versa* especially in second MIA and always in Ap.

The same root sometimes has the various forms of the gerund. Thus from *stu-*: *thoūṇa*, *saṃthuṇittā* (Ap.); from *gra*(*b*)*h-*: *gahetvā* (P), *gaṇhitvā* (P), *-gayha* (P), *gahāya* (P, Ap.), *ghettūṇa*(*ṃ*) (Pkt.) *gaheūṇa* (Pkt.), *gijjha* (Pkt.).

(i) *-tvā* (in MIA not restricted to the simplex root): A (G) *dasayitpā* <*darśayitvā*, *alocetpā*, *ārabhitpā*, *paricajitpā* <*pari-* √*tyaj-*; Kharavela *acitayitā* <*acintayitvā*; Khar. D *j'atva* <√*han-*, *chetva*, *kitva*, *hitva*, *ṣutva* <√*śru-*; N *śrutva*, *bhudva*, *daditva*; BS *vijahitvā*, *chinitvā*; P *ṭhatvā*, *hantvā*, *gantvā*, *pidahitvā* <*apidhā-*, *ñatvā*, *katvā*; Amg. *gantā*, *agamettā* <*āgam-*, *jāṇittā*, *uṭṭhittā*; Ap. (Vasu) *parājiṇittā*, *vilavittā* (vi- √*lap*), *chittā* (√*kṣip* 'to touch'), *ogeṇhitta* (*ava-* √*gṛh*).

(ii) *-tvī'* (RV only, e.g. *kṛtvī*; almost a special feature of Gāndhārī): A (S) *aloceti* <*ālocay-*, *tiṭhiti* <√*sthā-*, (M) *draśeti* >*darśay-*; Kharavela *vitāsiti*[83] <*vi-*√*trāsay*; Khar. D *parivajeti* <*pari-*√*varjay-*, *baheti* (B 27) <√*vāhay-*; N *śruniti*, *apruchiti* <**apṛcchitvī*; BS *niṣkramiti* <*niskram-*; Ap. *kareppi* <√*kṛ-*, *kāray-*, *hoivi* <√*bhū*, *muivi* <√*muc-*.

83. It however may stand for *vitaseti* <*vitrasayati.*

(iii) **-tvā + na:* Khar. D *ṣutvana* <√*śru-*, *prahatvana* (O 21); P *pahatvāna, ñatvāna, hanitvāna, vinayitvāna,*[84] BS *dṛṣṭvāna;* Amg. *ciṭṭhittāṇa* (*ṃ*), *karettāṇaṃ.*

(iv) **-tvī + na:* Ap. *kareppiṇu, hoeppiṇu.*

(v) **-tu* (*m*):[85] A (K, T) *sutu,* (S, M) *śrutu;* (D) *jānitu;* (D, J) *kaṭu* <*kṛ-;* (K, D, J, M) *ciṭhitu;* (S, M) *paritijītu,* (D, J) *palitijitu,* (K) *palitiditu;* (G) *ārādhetu.* N *vacitu.*[86] BS *nijinitu* <*ni-* √*ji-*. Ś *pheladu* 'having thrown away'. Pkt. *gantuṃ, gami* (*d*) *uṃ, pucchi* (*d*) *uṃ.* Ceylon Inscr. *kaṭu, koṭu* = *kṛtvā.*

(vi) **-tu* (*tū*) + *na* (*m*): A (bb) *abhivādetūnaṃ;*[87] Nāgār. *parinametuna, parināmetunaṃ;* Pallava Inscr. *atichitūna, kātūṇaṃ, nātūṇaṃ.* P *nikkhamitūna, āpucchitūna, chaḍḍūna.* Pkt. *uṭṭheūṇa, kāūṇa, geṇhiuṇa, gantūṇa, ghettūṇa, hattūṇa, daṭṭhūṇa, vāhariūṇa* (<*vi-a-*√*hṛ*) *vuttūṇaṃ* (= *uktvā*), *nihieūṇaṃ* (= *nidhāpya*), *payahiūṇa* (= *prahāya*).

(vii) *-tva:*[88] BS *karitva, gṛhītva, veṭhitva.*[89] Ś, Mg. *kadua, gadua.* Amg. *jāṇittu* (<*jāṇittā* + **jāṇitu*), *vandittu.*

(viii) *-*tva + na* (*nā*): BS *karitvana, kṛtvanā, śruṇitvanā, lobhayitvana, jahitvanā.*

(xi) *-ya:* A (G) *sachāya,* (S, M) *saṃkhaya;* Khar. D *niha'i* <*nidhāya, samada'i* <*samādāya, aruyu*[90] <*āruhya, abhivuyu*[90] <*abhibhūya;* Kalawan *puyaia* <√*pūjay;* P *abhiññāya, uṭṭhāya, abhibhuyya, pappuyya;* BS *kariya, dadiya;* N *uvadae, udiśa;* Ś *karia, gacchia, suṇia;* Amg. *āyāe,*

84. P *disvāna* <**dṛśvāna.*
85. The same base as of the OIA inf.
86. Burrow § 102.
87. Reading uncertain but probable.
88. Cf. RV gerundive in *-tva* (=*tua*).
89. BS instances may be metrically shortened form of the gerund in *-tvā.*
90. The final *-u* may have been influenced by the *-tu* forms (not attested). Senart's reading has *ṣakaru* (Cro 39) apparently a gerund or infinitive in *-u* from *-tu* (=*saṁkartum*).

thuniya, pāsiya, passa; Ap. bhaï, kari, suṇia, suṇ(ṇ)i. Ceylon Inscr. karavaya <√kāray-, kaṇavaya <√khanay.

The long root find (as in P anvāya, P and Pkt. gahāya etc.) is probably due to analogy of ādāya, nidhāya etc.

(x) -yā:[91] A (sn) saṃnaṃdhāpayiyā.

(xi) *-yā + na: BS kariyāna; P uttariyāna, anumodiyānaṃ; Amg. lahiyāṇa. takkiyāṇaṃ.

(xii) -yā + ya: Nagar. udisāya (=uddiśya).

(xiii) -tya: A (bh) adhigicya, (rm, ng) āgāca; Sui Vihar Cop. Pl. Inscr. of Kaniṣka ṭhapaïcaṃ; Khar. D parikica; Amg. samecca.

(xiv) tyā:[92] Amg. ṭhiccā, apiccā.

(xv) -tvā'ya: BS dṛṣṭāya = RV dṛṣṭvā'ya.

91. Cf. RV saṁgṛ'bhyā, ācyā.
92. Cf. RV étyā, ādṛ'tyā, araṁ-kṛ'tyā, āgátyā. A (rm, ng) āgāça may be an error for āgacā.

CHAPTER VIII

NOMINAL STEM FORMATION

1. THE PRIMARY AFFIXES

§175. The primary affixes of MIA are all derived from less than half a dozen of OIA primary endings. The more important of the MIA primary endings are given below. Participles and gerunds have been previously discussed.

1. *-a-* — action: A (T etc.) *dusaṃpaṭipādaya-* 'difficult to be achieved'. Ap. *uṭṭa-vaisa-* 'standing up and sitting down'.

2. *-aka, -ika* (one of the most prolific affix in MIA)—action and agent: A (D, J) *āvāgamake* (<**āvant-* + *gam-* + *aka*); (K) *cikisaka-* 'doctoring'; (S, M, G, K, D, J) *paṭivedaka-* 'informer'; (D, J) *nagalaviyohālaka* (<*-vyavahāraka-*); (S, M, G, K, D, J) *dāpaka-* 'to be given'; (S, M) *śravaka-*, (K, D, J) *sāvaka-*, (G) *srāvāpaka-* 'to be proclaimed'; (T) *ānugahika-* 'matter of grace'. Pkt. *dhārao* <*dhārakaḥ* 'debtor'.

3. *-ana, -anā*—action: A (T etc.) *dukhīyana-* 'causing pain', *sukhīyana-* 'causing pleasure'; (T, Ksb) *sukhīyanā*, (T) *sukhāyanā-*; (G) *nisṭāna-* 'completion'; (T) *dhaṃma-sāvanā* 'proclamation of piety'; (S, M, G, K, D, J) *paṭivedanā* 'submission of report'; (T, Ksb) *pālanā* 'protection', (Rdh, Mth, Pp, Mi) *pālana-*; (S, M, G, K) *dipanā* (*dipana*) 'furtherence, substenance'; (D) *tulanā-* (<√*tvar-*) 'impatience'; (D, J) *atulanā* 'patience'; (G) *atha-saṃtilanā*; (D, J) *asvāsanā* 'consolation'. A (G) *hasti-dasaṇā* 'exhibition of elephants'; Khāravela *-saṃdasanā-* 'exhibition', *-kārāpanā-* 'causing to be held'. BS *manyanā* 'consideration', *pratihanyanā* 'retaliation', *krudhyana-* 'anger'. Ap. *kahānā* 'talk'.

4. *-ana* + *-ka, ikā*—agent: Ap. *bollaṇaa* 'talkative', *vajjaṇaka-* 'bearer (of drum)', *māraṇaa-* 'killer', *bhasaṇaa-* 'barking'. Ap. (Vasu) *ugghāḍaṇi-* (*ud-*√*ghāṭay*), *osovaṇi-*

(*ava*-√*śvap*- caus. BS *bhayānikā*. Cf. Ceylon Inscr. (with inf.) *karaṇaka koṭu*, *paribhujanaka koṭu*.

5. -*anīya*: A (D, J) *asvasanīya*- 'to be reassured'; (S, M, K) *vedanīya*- 'to be considered'. Khar. D *karani'ani*. P *khādanīya*-, *bhojanīya*- 'food'.

6. -*ara* (see -*ira* below): Pkt. *gaṇarī* (FM.) 'counting'.

7. -*ika*, *ikā* (one of the most profilic affixes in MIA)—agent: Ap. *suhacchī*, *suhacchia* <*sukhapṛcchika*-, -*kā*.

8. -*ima* (extension of secondary -*iman*)—action or concrete: Amg. *khāima*- 'eating, food', *pūima*- 'adoration', *gaṇhima*- 'acceptance, gift'; Ap. *khāima*-, *sāima*- (√*svad*).

9. -*ira* (cf. RV *ajirá*- 'quick', *dhvasirâ*- 'scattering', *madirá*- 'pleasing', *iṣirá*- 'lively', *ásira*- 'missile')—adjective, often having the value of the perfect participle: Pkt., Ap. *gholira*- 'swirling', *hasira*- (FM. *hasirī*) 'smiling', *ṇaccri* (FM.) 'dancing', *vajjira*- 'sounding', *tuccha-jampira*- 'talking inanities', *bahu-sikhiri* (FM.) 'much learned'; *bhīira*- 'fearful' (Vasu).

10. -*illa*—perfect participle:[1] Amg. *pucchilla* (*ya*)- 'asked', *āṇilliya*- 'brought in'; Pkt. *lohilla*-[2] 'tempted'; Ap. *pucchilla*-.

11. -*ya*: A (T etc.) *dekhiye* 'to be seen'; (Ks) *lahiye* 'to be obtained'; (br, sd) *sakya*, (j, sn, ru) *sakiya*-, (G, sk, mk) *saka* <*śakya*-; (b) *sakye*, (D, J, s, b) *cakiye* <**cakya*- 'possible'.[3]

2. THE SECONDARY AFFIXES

§176. The secondary affixes, especially the pleonastic affixes play an important part in MIA. The phonetic loss of OIA affixes that survived was compensated by the addition of the pleonastic affixes in which -*ka* predominated. The more

1. Cf. -*ara*, -*ala*, -*ila* in RV: *dravará*- 'running', *palará*- 'flying', *anila*- (*ánila*-) 'breath' <√*an*, *tṛpála*- 'joyous'.
2. It may be a secondary formation from *lobha*-.
3. Krama, notes the Ap root *caa*-=*śak*-.

important of the secondary affixes in MIA are discussed below.

1. *-a* (with vṛddhi of the preceding wowel)—abstract noun: A (bh) *gārava-* <*garu-* = *guru;* (G, K, T) *mādava* <*mṛdu-;* (T) *sādhava-* <*sādhu-;* Jogimara *balanaśeye* <*vārāṇasī.*

2. *-ā* (FM.) <*-kā*: Pkt. *itthiā* 'woman', *bahinia* 'sister'.

3. *-ā* <*-āka*—pleonastic: *khalantaā*=*skhalan, kalentaā* = *kurvan.*

4. *-āia* <*-ākika*—adjectival or pleonastic: Ap. *parāia-* <*para-* +.

5. *-āka, -aka*—adjectival: Ap. *parāya-* <*parāka-;* BS *vārāṇasīyaka-* 'belonging to Banaras'.

6. *-āna*—adjectival or pleonastic: Pkt. *sukkhāṇa-* <*suṣka-* +.

7. *-āra*—adjective from the personal pronoun: Ap. *amhāra-* 'our', *tuhāra* 'thine'.

8. *-āla*—adjectival: Amg., Ap. *saddāla-* 'vociferous', *dhaṇāla-* 'rich'; Ap. *dhaṃdhevālu* 'puzzling'.

9. *-ia* <*-ika*—pleonastic, adjectival: N *saṃvatsari, paṃcavarsi.*[4] Pkt., Ap. *pathia-* <*pathika-, panthia-* <**panthika-;* Ap. *jāiṭṭhia-* <**yādṛṣṭika-.*

10. *-iā* <*ikā*—pleonastic, adjectival or abstract: Pkt. *-saaḍiā-* <*śakaṭikā, vaśantaśeṇiā* <**vasantasenikā. paścānupaściā* <*paścānupaścikā.*

11. *-ika, *ikya*—pleonastic adjectival: A (S, M) *spamika-,* (G) *svāmika-,* (D, J) *suvāmika-,* (K) *suvāmikya-* <*svāmika-;* (mk) *uḍālika* <*udāra-* +; (T) *caṃdamasuliyika-* <*candramassūryaka-;* (S) *cirathitika-,* (m, ru) *ciraṭhitika-,* (K) *cilaṭhitikya-* <*cirasthitika-;* (K) *natikya* <*jñāti-, ākālikya-, paralokikya-.* Jogimara Cave Inscr. *devadaśikyi* = *devadāsikā.* BS *pañcadaśavarṣadeśika-, dhovā-*

4. The affix may be *-i(ya)* or *-ī(ya)*,

panika- 'washermen's charge' <**dhovāpana-* (Mahā). Ap. *bappikī* (FM.) 'ancestral'. Mg *bhālika-* 'heavy'.

12. *-ima* (cf. *paścima*)—adjectival: A (T) *pulima-*, P *purima-* BS *purimaka-*, Amg. *pūrima-* 'former'; A (K, T, D, J) ,*majhima-*, P *majjhima-* = *madhyama-*; BS *purastima-* Amg. *puratthima-* 'frontal'; Amg. *pacchatthima-* 'backward'; BS *pṛṣṭhima-* <*pṛṣṭha-* +.

13. *-ima* <*-iman*—abstract: Ap. *munīsima-* 'manliness', *vaṅkima-* <*vakra-* +, *gahirima-* <*gabhīra-* +, *sarisima-* <*sadṛśa-* +.

14. *-iya-*, *-ya-* — abstract: A (J, D, T, etc.) *niṭhuliya-* 'cruelty'; (M) *nirathriya-*, (D) *nilaṭhiya-* <*nirartha-* +; (G, K, S, M) *paṭivesiya-* <*prativeśa-*.

15. *-iyā*, *-yā*—abstract: A (K) *mādhuliyā-*, *nilaṭhiyā-*; (nj) *vāṣaniṣidiyā-* = **varṣāniṣadyā*.

16. *-lia*, *-illa*—adjectival and pleonastic: Amg. *sukkila-* <*śukra-*; Ap. *heṭṭhila* <*heṭṭhā*; Pkt. *tittilla-* 'wet'; Amg. *māyilla-* <*māyā-* +, *paḍhamila-* 'first' *majhila-*, *majjhamila-*; Ap. *vajjila-* <*vajra-* +, *ruṭella-* <*ruṣṭa-*. Cf. Nasik Śiva-khadila 'Śivaskanda'.

17. *-illa* + *-ka*—the same: Pkt. *mūillaa-* <*mūka-* +; Amg. *gāmellaga-* <*grāma-* +; M *gharilla-* <*ghara-* +; Ap. *mukkalaa-* <*mukta-* +; *diṇṇelluyaṃ* <**dinna-*; Ap. (Vasu) *gāmellaa-* (<*grāma-*), *padihatthelliya-* (<*pratihasta-*), *puricchamilla-* (<*purastya-*), *rattellaga-* (<*raktasatthilla-* (<*sārtha-*).

18. *-ira*—adjectival: Ap. *guhira-* <*guhā-* +, *vajjira-* <*vajra-* +.

19. *-i-* (*abhūtatadbhāva svī* of Sanskrit grammar): A (mk) *misībhūta-*; Ap. *cuṇṇīhoi* <*cūrṇībhavati*, *lahuihua-* <*laghvībhūta-*, *khasaphasihūa* = *vyākulībhūta-*.

20. *-ī-* (FM.): A *sūkalī*; N *śpeti* <*śveta-*; BS *prajāyamāni*; Ap. *diṭṭhī* <*dṛṣṭa-*, *tanusarīri*, *paraputthī*.

21. *-uṭa*—adjectival or pleonastic: Ap. *vaṅkuṭa-* <*vakra*.

22. *-ulla*—adjectival and pleonastic: Amg. *pāulla-* <*pāda-* +; Ap. *kuḍullī, bāhubalulla (ḍa), kīḍaullau* <*kīṭa-* +, *chaḍaullau* 'sprinkled'.

23. *-ka*—pleonastic or adjectival; (the most frequent of the MIA secondary affines): A (K, T) *dāsabhaṭaka-*, (J) *nagalaka-*, (S, M) *p(r)anatika-*, (K) *panātikya-*, (K, M) *abaka-* (<*ambā* +), (S) *striyaka-*, (T, Mi, Rdh, Mth, Rp) *ajaka-*, (Rdh, Mth, Rp) *ajakā*, (T, Mi, Rdh, Mth, Rp) *eḍaka-*, (T, Rdh, Mth, Rp) *eḍakā*, (T, Ksb, Rdh, Mth, Rp) *gaṃgapuputaka-*, (T) *saṃḍaka-*. Bes. *takkhasilāka-*; Nasik *nāsikaka-, teraṇhuka-, avipana-mātususūsāka-*; Nagar. *jāmātuka-*. Taxila Silver Scroll *taṇuvaa-*; Māṇikiala Stone Insc. *apanaga-* Kurram Cop.-pl. *tanuvaka-*; N *tanuvag'a, tanuvae, bhatarag'a, trevarsag'a*; Ap. *soṇau* (=*śravaṇaka-*); Pkt. *cāludattaka-, cāludattāka*, 'Cārudatta'. N *jivaṃdag'a*; BS *rodanṭaka, dadantikā*; Ap. *jantaü*. In Niya the past participle in the passive sense had the ending *-ka*: *likhitag'a, caridae, gadaya, didae* (but *dita* 'he gave'). BS *āgataka-*. Ap. *rahiaü, thaviaü, phulliaü, guru-vuttaü, kahiaü, geheantaga-*.

In BS *-ka* is a common suffix of an adjectival or pleonastic nature. Thus from Mahāvastu: *kanyakubjaka-* 'belonging to Kānyakubja', *madraka-* 'belonging to the clan of the Madras', etc.

24. *-kya*: Ap. (Hema.) *parakka-, rāikka-, goṇikka-*.

25. *-kha* (cf. *sukha-, duḥkha-*): Ap. *navakha-* (*-khī* FM.).

26. *-ṭa-* >*-ḍa-*: Ap. *visaḍā* (=*viṣam*), *sallaḍā* (=*śalyam*); *dui-divahaḍā, bhāvaḍā, bhāvaḍaü, jihaḍi, mehaḍaü, -upaesaḍaü* (=*upa deśakaḥ*), *ettaḍaü, bakkhāṇadā, akkaraḍehī, parahatthaḍā, piaḍā, sukkhaḍā, dukkhaḍā, melāvaḍā, jīvaḍā, pasulogaḍā, rattaḍī* (=*rātri-*), *ṇehaḍā* = *sneha-, ṇiddaḍī* = *nidrā*.

27. *-taka, -tika*—adjective of quantity: A (K) *āvatake*, (G) *yāvatako*, (M) *yavatake*; (G) *bahutāvatakaṃ*, (K) *-tāvaṃtake*, (S) *-tavake*; (G, K, D, J, S, M) *etaka*. BS

ettaka-, tattaka- yattaka-, yātuka-, tātuka-. Pkt. *etti(ka)-*. Ap. *tattaka-*.

28. *-taya* (cf. *catuṣṭaya-*)—the same: A (G) *etayaṃ*. Ap. *ettavi*.

29. *-tara*—comparative and adjectival: A *kaṃmatara-* (*-tala-*), *bāḍhatara-* (*-tala-*), *dukalatala-*. BS *yāvantara-*, *tāvantara-* 'as much, so much'.

30. *-tama* (—superlative): A *gajatama-*. Ap. *uttima-* = *uttama*.

31. *-tas*: A (D) *Ujenite, Takkhasilāte*, (br., sd.) *Suvaṃnagirite*, (D), *mamate*, (K, D, J) *mukhata*, (S, M, G) *mukhato*, (S) *vañanato*.

32. *-tā*: A *apabhāṃḍatā, apavyayatā, kataṃñatā, kiṭanata, apabādhatā, diḍha-* (*didha-*), *bhatitā, phāsuvihālatā, lahudaṃḍatā*. Ap. *sunnasahāvatā*.

33. *-tāhe*—pronominal adverb: Pkt. *ettāhe* 'now'.

34. *-tra, trika, trikā* (FM.)—adverb of place: A *añatra, añata, aṃñatra, aṇatra*; (S, M) *atra*, (S) *tatra*. A (T, etc.) *hidatikāye*; A (nj.) *vaḍatikā kubhā*. Ap. *paratta-*.

35. *-tra* — abstract: N *brahmacaritra, kamakaritra, jañatra*.

36. *-tva*—abstract: A (K, D, J) *tadatvāye*, (G) *tadātpano*, Amg. *pupphata-, phalatta-, sāmitta-, rāyatta-*.

37. *-tvatā* (cf. RV *puruṣatvatā*): A (ru, s) *mahatatā*. Hemacandra *maürattayā*.

38. *-tvana* (cf. RV *sakhitvaná-*): M *amarattaṇa-*, Ś *bālattaṇa-*, Amg. *takkarattaṇa-*; Ap. *vaḍḍattaṇa, vaḍḍappaṇa-, gahilattaṇa-, siddhattaṇa, thirattaṇa- pattattaṇa-* (<*patra-*), *uṇhattaṇa-, tilattaṇa-* (<*tila-*).

39. *-tya*—adjectival: A (G) *ilokaca-, ekaca-*; (K, D, J) *ekatiya-*; (G, K, S, M) *nica-*.

40. *-thā*—adverb of manner: A (K) *aṃnathā*, (S) *añatha*; (K, D, J, Pe) *athā* (=*yathā*), *aṃnathā*.

41. -*dha*—adverb of place and time: A (G) *idha*, (S, M) *iha*; Pkt. *aha, jaha, taha*.

42. *-*da* (see -*dā* below): A (K) *ida* (<*idam* (RV)) 'now'.

43. -*dā*—adverb of time or manner: A (D, J) *adā* (=*yadā*).

44. -*nī*, -*inī* (FM.): A *bhikhunī*. Lucknow Mus. Jain Image Inscr. of Huviṣka- *śiśiniya* (=*śiṣyāyāḥ*). Nasik *mahāseṇāpatini-*, Nagar. *mahādāṇapatini*. Ap. *sissinī*.

45. *-*na*(*ka*), *-*nikā* (FM.)—pleonastic in proper names: Nagar. *Khaṃdasāgaraṃnaka-, Cāntisiriṇikā-, Haṃmasiriṇikā-*; Nagar. *Caṃdamukhana-, Karuṃbuđhina-*. Common noun: BS *dāsinikā, kāminikā, hastinikā*.

46. -*mant*—adjectival: Amg. *cittamanta-, vijjāmanta-*; Ap. *guṇamanta-, dhanamanta-*. Ap. *vajjamā*.

47. -*la*, (-*ra*), -*lla*—adjectival or pleonastic: A *mahālaka-*; Amg. *mahāloya-, mahalla*(*ya*)-, *kacchulla-, andhalla-, ekkallaya-*; Pkt. *pakkala-* <*pakva-* +. Ap. *e*(*k*)*ka*(*l*)*la-, pattala-, dīhara-, mokkala*(*ḍ*)*a-, ṇaggala-, aggala-, tāhara-* ('his'), *tuhāra-* ('thine'), *amhāra-* ('our'), *mahāra-* ('mine'), *veggala-* ('frog', 'separated'?), *vañcayara-* (<*vañcaka-*), *bahilla-* (<*bahir*). Cf. BS *bhāryarā-*.

48. -*lika* (-*likā* FM.): BS *panthalika-* 'wayfarer'.

49. -*lī*: BS *nakhalī* 'nail'.

50. -*vant*—possessive adjective: A (S) *pajava* <*prajāvān*.

51. -*ha* (<-*kha*) + -*ka*: Pkt. *śuṇahaka-* 'dog' (cf. P *sunakha-*); Ap. *mecchahaka-* 'barbarian'. Cf. Khar. D *dhamiho* = *dhārmika-*.

52. -*yā* <-*tā*: Amg. *ajjavayā* <**ārjavatā, maddavayā* <**mārdavatā*

53. -*iyā* <-*u* (stem) + -*ya* + -*ā* (FM.): Amg. (Ācārāṅga-sūtra): *ajjaviyā* <*ṛjū-, lāghaviyā* <*laghu-, maddaviyā* <*mṛdu-, socaviyā* <**śocavyā* <*śuci-*.

§177. The second element of old compounds has sometimes become affixes in second MIA and Ap. Thus:

1. *-āla* (implying plurality): Ap. *ṇavamehaālu* <*navameghajālaḥ*, *indiala-* <*indriyajāla-*.

2. *-ara* (*a*), *-āra* (*a*): Pkt. *mālārī* <*mālākārī*; *cittaara-* 'painter'. Ap. *andhāra-* 'dark, darkness' <*andhakāra-*, *vippiaāraa-* <*vipriyākāraka-*, *diṇaara-* <*dinakara-*, *soṇāra-* 'goldsmith'.

3. *-ila*: Pkt. *paṅkāila-* 'muddy' <*paṅkāvila-*.

4. *-vāla* (<*-pāla*): Pkt. *guttivālaa-* <*guptipālaka-*.

5. *-hara* (<*-dhara*): Ap. *dharāhara-* 'cloud', *mahihara-* 'mountain'.

Chapter IX

NOMINAL COMPOSITION

§178. The main types of OIA compounds survived in early MIA, and as in Vedic the early MIA compounds generally comprise two component words and, when not imitating OIA prose, rarely more than three. The literary prose of MIA (viz. Pali, Aradhamāgadhi, the dramatic Prakrits and Jaina Apabhraṃśa) following the model of Classical Sanskrit rejoiced in long and tedious compounds. This was against the spirit of MIA. The accelerated phonetic changes in second and late MIA obscured most of the compounds inherited from OIA, and very often such a compound became a simplex. Thus: late Brahmi Inscr. *pitucchā* <*pitṛṣvasā;* N *leharag'a* <*lekhahāraka-;* Jaina M *lehāriya-* <*lekhahārika-;* Pkt. *paṇaiṇo* <*praṇayijanaḥ;* Ap. *silāyala-* (<*śilātala-*), *aliüla-* (<*alikula-*), *payāvadi* (<*prajāpati-*), *vippiaāraa-* (<*vipriya-kāraka-*), *indīāla-* (<*indriyajāla-*), *gaenda-* (<*gajendra-*), <*taruhala- taruphala-, deula-* <*devakula-*.

§179. The characteristic types of the compound in MIA are (i) Dvandva, (ii) Karmadhāraya, (iii) Tatpuruṣa, (iv) Bahuvrīhi and (v) Syntactical. The adverbial compound (Avyayībhāva) was frequent in early MIA but disappeared entirely in late MIA, partly being incorporated with the Dvandva and partly becoming a simplex. Other types are sporadically represented.

The order of the components are sometimes different from OIA. Thus: *Mūḍhadiso* (Vasu)=Skt. *diṅmūdhaḥ*.

1. Dvandva

§180. The Dvandva compound from the very beginning had a tendency towards *samāhāra* or collective singular. So in Aśokan: *sukhīyana-dukīyaṇaṃ* (PE); *mātāpitrai* (G) beside *matapituṣu* (S, M), *mātāpitisu* (K, D, T); *dasabhaṭa-*

kasa (S, M) *dasabhaṭakasi* (M), *dāsabhaṭakasi* (K, D, J); *mita-sastuta-ñātikyānaṃ* (K), *-natikanaṃ* (S, M). In N.W. Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions: *madapidara* (Gen. SG.) beside *matarapitaraṇa* (Gen. PL.) In Niya the singular is much more frequent than the plural:[1] *pitumadue, madupitusya, hastapadami* beside *edeṣa pitaputrana.* So in Ap. *jarāmaraṇaha, adha-udha-majjhe, āgama-veapurāṇe,* but *Rāma-Kaṇhā, khiti-jala-pavaṇa-hutāsaṇehi, Rāvaṇa-Rāmahaṃ* (Gen. PL.).[2] This tendency culminated in the principle of group-inflection in Niya (cf. BURROW §136) and in Apabhraṃśa. Thus: N *cojhbo Yitaka toṃga Vuktosa ca* '(to) the c. Yitaka and the t. Vukto'; Ap. *miṇa-paaṅgama-kari-bhamara pekkheha hariṇaha jutta* 'look at the behaviour of the fish, the fly, the elephant, the bee and the deer'.

2. KARMADHARAYA

§181. The Karmadhāraya includes the appositional compound which is quite frequent. In the appositional compound and in the ordinary Karmadhāraya the proper name has a tendency to come first. Thus: A (bb) *Khalatika-pavatasi,* (D) *Tisa-nakhatena,* (nj) *Luṃminigāme;* Nagar. *Dhammanaṃdi-thera-;* Kharavela *Khāravela-siri* (also *siri-Khāravela*); BS *Nalinī-dhītarā, Nalinī-dhītā, Rāhula-śiri-;* Zeda Inscr. *Saṃghamitra-rājasa;* Jaina M *Caṇḍapajjoya-rāyā;* Pkt. *Pajjuṇṇa-siriṇā* 'by Śrī Pradyumna' (Vasu).

This tendency of putting the name first also appears in these examples: A (T etc.) *aṭhami-pakhāe* 'on the Eighth Day of the fortnight'; *N ekadasi-masasya* (341); Amg. *dasamīvakkhena.*

Other examples: A (br.) *dīghāvuse* 'for long life'; (G) *bahutāvatakaṃ,* (S) *bahu-tavake,* (K) *bahu-tāvaṃtake* 'very many'; (T etc.) *seta-kapote* 'white pigeon', *anaṭhika-mache* 'boneless fish', *vadhi-kukuṭe* 'capon'; (D, J) *sava-munisānaṃ* 'of all men', *eka-pulise* 'some men'; Nasik Cave Inscr. *eka-*

1. BURROW § 135.
2. Cf. Pkt., *rāmakesavāṇaṁ, amārentamārentāṇaṁ.*

bamhaṇa-; N *anati-lekha* 'written order'; Nagar. *sela-vaḍhāki-* 'stone mason'; BS *satta-rājāneṣu* 'among the seven kings'; Pkt. *maṭṭiā-saadiā* 'earthern toy cart'; Mg. *dalidda-Cāludatta-*; Amg. *haṭṭha-tuṭṭha-* <*hṛṣṭa-tuṣṭa-;* *Pkt.* *duṭṭha-baïlla-* 'the rogue bull'; *ghara-moro* <*gṛha-mayūraḥ;* *culla-piuṇo* 'of the father's younger brother' (Vasu). Ap. *dahajaṇāiṃ* 'ten men'.

§182. A peculiarity of the Karmadhāraya compound in MIA is the occurrence of a personal name as the first member. Thus *kuśarājā* 'king kuśa' (Mahā.); etc.

3. Tatpuruṣa

§183. The different types of the Tatpuruṣa, based on the case-relation between the component words, are illustrated below.

(a) Instrumental: A *baṃdhana-badha-* <*bandhana-baddha-;* (T) *vayo-mahallaka-* 'senior in age'; (K, D) *dāna-sa(ṃ)yuta-* <*dāna-saṃyukta-*. Khar. D *dhama-jivi-* 'living by piety', *hasta-sañadu* <*hasta-saṃyataḥ*. Pkt. *ṇassa-kaḍua-* 'sensitive to nose-bridle'. Ap. *āi-rahia-* <*ādi-rahita-*, *tomhā-bihuṇṇe* 'without thee'; *āsuruttā* (Vasu) 'weeping with tears'.

(b) Dative: A (G, K, D) *dhaṃma-maṅgale* 'ceremony for religious merit'; (G, K, D, T, etc.) *dhaṃma-lipi* 'writing for (the observation of) piety'; (S, M) *paśopaka-*, (G, K) *paso-paga-*, (D, J) *pasuopaga-* 'good for animals'; N *aṭh'ovaga* 'good for the purpose'. Pkt. *ṇhāṇasādiā* 'bathing robe'.

(c) Ablative: Khar. D *abhamuto* <*abhra-muktaḥ*. But it is a doubtful instance as it may as well represent the uncompounded form *abhrāt muktaḥ*.

(d) Genitive: A (kq.) *Tīvala-mātu* 'of the mother of Tīvala'; (T) *devi-kumālānaṃ* 'of the sons of the queens'; (S, M, K) *vaca-guti* 'restraint in speech'; (D) *nagala-janasa* 'of the city people'; (G) *guru-susūsā* 'obedience to the *gurus*', *prāṇa-sata-sahasrāṇi* 'hundred thousands of lives'. Khar. D *godama-savaka* 'disciples of Gotama'. Pkt. *chiṇṇāliā-putto* 'son of a whore', *jaṇa-saṃmadde* 'crowd of people'. Mg. *maś-caliśattu-* 'killer of fish'. Nasik *mahārāja-mātā* 'king's mother',

gotamī-puto 'the son of Gautamī'. Ap. *ṇabhajalu* 'rainwater', *girisingahũ* 'from the hill tops'; *sūrappabhāe* 'at sunrise' (Vasu).

(e) Locative: A (K) *agabhuta-* 'born earlier'. Khar. D *apramada-rada* 'devoted to vigilance', *paga-sana* 'sunk in mire'. Pkt. *mādu-ghara-laddha-* 'found in the mother's house', *kavaḍḍa-ḍāiṇī-* (<*kapardaka-ḍākiṇī-*) 'ghoul of cash'. Ap. *visaāsatti* 'attachment in the objects of the senses'; *hiyayasāhīṇaṃ* (Acc. FM.) 'mistress in the heart' (Vasu).

(f) Accusative: A (G) *dasa-varsabhisito* 'anointed (king) for ten years'. Khar. D *vaṣa-śada-jivi* 'living for a hundred years', *mana-bhaṇi* 'soft speaking', *baho-jagaru* (<*bahu-jāgaraḥ*) 'much alert'. Ap. *vaṅka-hasirī* 'smiling twistedly', *addhacchi-paloirī* 'looking askance'.

(g) Upapada: A (K) *ādikale* (<*ādikaraḥ*) 'initiator'; (G) *sarvaloka-sukhāharo* 'bringing happiness to all beings'. Khar. D *dhamacari* 'practising piety', *dhama-dharo* 'supporting piety', *bhuma-ṭ'ho*[3] staying on the ground', *eka-paṇanu'-abi-* (<**ekaprāṇānukampi-*) 'pitying a single living being', *radhe-'aro* 'riding a chariot', *bhaya-daśima* 'seeing fear'. Karle Cave Inscr. *aṭha-bhāyā-pa*[*da*]- 'bestowing eight wives (to Brahmins)'. BS *raṇaṃ-jaha-* 'fight-shy', sarvaṃ-dada- 'giving away all', *duḥkhānupaśyi* 'detecting suffering', Pkt. *khuṇṭa-moḍaka-* 'post-crashing'; *gaṇṭhi-cchedaa-* (<*granthicche-daka-*) 'pick-pocket'; N *ghrida-paśavana* 'of (cows) giving butter'. Sui Vihar Cop. pl. Insc. *dha*[*rma*]*kathisa* 'of one that preaches piety'.

4. Bahuvrīhi

§184. The Bahuvrīhi compound was throughout a living idiom. In the last stage of MIA the sense of the Bahuvrīhi began to be lost and as compensation adjectival affixes

3. This is a genuine MIA compound (and not inherited) as the stem *bhuma-* indicates. It would be an OIA comp. if *bhuma-*<RV *bhū-man*.

were attached. Examples: A *mahāphala-;* (T, etc.) *pata-vadha-* (<*prāptavadha-*) 'condemned'; (G) *ucāvuca-chaṃda-* 'of various inclinations'. Piprawa Vase Inscr. *sa-puta-dalanaṃ* <*sa-putra-dārāṇām;* Taxila Cop-pl. Insc. *sa-putra-darasa*. Khar. D *abalaśo* 'one having a weak horse', *bhadraśu* 'one having a strong horse', *gamira-praño* <*gaṃbhīraprajñaḥ*. N *sarvakārya-krida* 'who has done all his duty', *ñadartha* <*jñātārthaḥ, mahanuava* <*mahānubhāvaḥ, sarvañadartho* <*sarvajñātārthaḥ*. BS *saha-sopinī* 'woman sharing the bed', *caturghoṭa-* '(chariot) drawn by four horses', Pkt. *porat-thima-muho* 'facing the east'; *paüra-juaṇo* (village) having enough youngmen'; *hiaa-patthara-* 'stone-hearted'. Ap. *tanu-aṅgaü* (<*tanu-aṅgakaḥ*) 'light limbed', *be-muha-* 'double-faced', *virala-pahāu* <*virala-prabhāvaḥ, vīsa-pāṇi-* 'having twenty arms'; *appaṇacchandaüṃ* <*ātmacchandaska-, sa-saṇehī* = *sasnehā*. Ap. (Vasu) *mūḍhadiso* 'who has lost his bearings', *bhayagaggiragiro* 'whose words are indistinct' through fear', *ṇītusāo* 'husked', *saoroho* = *sāvarodhaḥ* 'with his harem', *rājīvavibuddhavayaṇo* 'whose face is blooming like lotus'.

5. Adverbial

§185. The adverbial compound was fast losing ground from the close of the first MIA. Its occurrence is rare in the second MIA and is practically unknown (except the old compounds that have become simplices) in the late Ap. Examples: A (D, J) *anucātuṃmāsaṃ;* (S, M, K, D) *āvakapaṃ,* (D) *ākapaṃ;* (nj) *ācaṃdamasūliyaṃ;* (G, J) *ā-Taṃbapaṃnī;* (PE) *ā-pāṇadakhināye;* (D, J) *āvāgamake;* (T) *caṃdama-suliyike;* (br, sd, tr,) *yathārahaṃ;* (T, sc) *putā-papotike;* (PE) *anuposathaṃ;* (G, K, D, J, M) *anudivasaṃ;* (PE) *ā-saṃmāsike;* A (K) *diyaḍha-māte,* (M) *-matre,* (S) *-dhamatre;* N *yava-jiva; yathā-kāma* (437), *yatha-kama* (568), *yatha-g'ama-g'aranīyaḥ* (661), *yatha-dita-sudita-kuñita* (572); *kikama* (222, 571-2, 579, 580, 715); *śighra-karyena* (306, 376). BS *ekadukāye* 'by ones and twos', stanācusaṇaṃ (āsati), *kevaciram* 'how long', *kāhāpana-māsikam* 'flesh measured by *kārṣāpaṇa*'. Pkt. *ekkapahāliaṃ* <*ekaprahārikam*.

6. Iterative and Reciprocal

§186. The iterative noun compounds generally express indefinite plurality. Examples: A (G) *aṃñamaṃñasa,* (M) *aṇamaṇasa,* (M) *añamañasa,* (K) *aṃnomaṃnasa;* (PE) *suve-suve, hidata-pālate.* N *aṃñamaṃñana* (354), *vela-velaya* (358, 371), *phalophala* (524). P *phalāphala-.* Nasik *ekīkasa.* Amg. *kallākalliṃ.* Ap. *juaṃ-jua* 'separately', *khaṇ-ḍākhaṇḍi-* (Vasu). BS *bhāgabhāgaṃ* (*karitvāna*), *devadevāṃ* (*namasyanti*).

7. Participial

§187. In Aśokan the compounds with *-mata* as the second member have the force of the passive past participle like the OIA compounds *bhūtapūrva-* and *vaśīkṛta-.* Thus: (S) *kaṭava-mataṃ;* (S, M) *gurumata-,* (K) *galumata, galumatatale;* (S) *gurumatataraṃ;* (G) *garumato;* (S) *chamitaviya-mate;* (K, S, M) *mukhamate,* (J) *mokhiya-mataṃ,* (D, T, Mi) *mokhya-mate;* (G) *vedana-mate,* (K, M) *vedaniya-;* (G, K, D, J, S, M) *sādhumatā;* (K) *huta-puluva-,* (M) *-pruva-,* (D, J) *hūta-puluva-;* (G) *bhūta-purva, -puva-;* (S, M) *bhuta-pruva-.* A (mk) *misibhūta-;* Pkt. *maṇḍaṇī-hūaṃ;* Amg. *suvaṇṇi-kāuṇo.*

8. Prepositional (*Prādi*)

§188. The compounds with a preposition (*upasarga*), other than *su* and *dur,* as the first member were very rare in MIA. Examples: Amg. *pa-telasa-* (<**pra-trayodaśa*) 'about (or more than) thirteen'. Ap. *dumāṇava* 'a bad man'.

I. Syntactical

§189. The various types of the syntactical compound:

1. With postpositions, nouns, and adverbs: A (sn) *upāsakān'- antikaṃ, tuphākaṃtikaṃ;* (T) *etadathā* 'wish thus intent'; N *tasmartha* (498).

2. With phrases: A (PE) *cilaṃ-thitikā.* BS *kutontarī, ehibhikṣukā-* (<*ehi bhikṣuka*) 'invitation to a mendicant'. Ap. *jāiṭṭhiā* 'coming and staying'.

§190. In MIA, Tatpuruṣa, Bahuvrīhi and Syntactical compounds are often strengthened by a pleonastic suffix. Thus: (T) *aḍhakosikyāni;* A (S) *cira-thitika,* (K) *cila-thitikyā, -ṭhitikyā;* (G) *dadḥa-bhatitā;* (J) *lāja-vacanika;* (K, S) *lahudaṃḍatā-*. Nagar. *ayuvadhanika-*. N *paru-parāri-varṣi ghṛta* (162), *ima-varsi palp'i* (165), *trevarṣag'a uṭa* (152), *satavarṣag'a uṭa* (209). Nasik *avipana-mātu-susūsā-kasa.* BS (duve) *jāyapatikā* 'wife and husband'. Mg. *daliddha-Cāludattāke.* Ap. *dui-divahaḍā* (visayasuhā), *suhacchaḍī, mabbhi-saḍī, bāhubalullaḍā, pacchāyāvaḍā; nava-vahudaṃsaṇalālasau.*

§191. The stem of the compound sometimes differs from the OIA form. Thus: A *yona-rāja* (G), *-lājā* (G, D, J), Khara-vela *uttarā-padha-rājānao.* Jaina M *Pajjoya-rāiṇo.* The forms like A (kq) *Tivalamātu,* Bhaṭṭipolu *kura-pituno* follow the Vedic and the epic usage.

§192. The omission of the common element between the two constitutent words in a compound appears in *indubindu-senā* "Indusenā and Bindusenā" (Vāsu). Its parallel in RV: *patayánmandayátsakham.*

ABBREVIATIONS

A = Aśokan Inscriptions

b = Bairat. bh = Bhabru. br = Brahmagiri. D=Dhauli.
G = Girnar. J = Jaugaḍa. jtr = Jatinga-Ramesvara.
K = Kalsi. Ksb. = Allahabad Kausambi. kq. = Allahabad Kausambi queen's edict.
M = Mansehra. Mi = Delhi-Mirat. mk. = Maski.
Mth = Mathia. ng = Nagarjun Cave. nj = Nigliva.
PE = Pillar edicts. Rdh = Radhia. Pp = Ramparva.
ru = Rupnath.
S = Shahbazgarhi. s = Sasaram. sd = Siddhapur. Su = Supara.
T = Delhi-Topra.

Abl. = Ablative. Acc. = Accusative. Act. = Active. Amg. = Ardhamāgadhī. Ap. = Apabhraṃśa. Av. = Avesta. AV = Atharvaveda.

Bes. = Besnagar Pillar Inscription.

BS = Buddhistic Sanskrit. Dat. = Dative. Fm. = Feminine. Fu. = Future. Gen. = Genitive. Gk. = Greek. Gram. = Grammarian, grammatical. Hema. = Hema-candra, Hemacandra's grammar. IA = Indo-Aryan. IE = Indo-European. IIr. = Indo-Iranian. Imp. = Imperative. Inscr. = Inscription (s). Inst. = Instrumental. Jogimara = Jogimārā (Ramgarh) Cave Inscription. Khar. D = Kharoṣṭhi *Dhammapala* (ed. H. W. Bailey, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies,* London, Vol. XI). Khar. Inscr. = Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions. Kharavela = Inscriptions of Kharavela. Krama. = Kramadīśvara's grammar (i.e. the last chapter of *Saṃkṣiptasāra*). Loc. = Locative. Mahā = Mahāvastu. Mah. = Māhārāṣṭrī. Mc. = Masculine. Mg. = Māgadhī. MIA = Middle Indo-Aryan. N = Niya Prakrit (s). Nagar. = Nagarjunikoṇḍa Inscriptions. Nanaghat = Nanaghat Inscriptions. Nasik = Nasik Cave

Inscriptions. NIA = New Indo-Aryan. Nom. = Nominative. Nt. = Neuter. N-W = North-Western. OIA = Old Indo-Aryan. OP = Old Persian. Opt. = Optative. P = Pali. Pai. = Paiśācī. Per. = Person. Pkt. = Prakrit (s). Pl. = Plural. Pres. = Present. Puru. = Puruṣottama's grammar. RV = Ṛgveda. Ś = Śaurasenī. Sg. = Singular. Skt. = Sanskrit. Subj. = Subjunctive. Vasu = Vasudevahiṇḍi.

[For typographical difficulties some unusual sounds (Indo-Iranian, Iranian and Niya) could not be presented in their usual forms. The same is to be said for the nasalized vowels in Apabhraṃśa.]

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ERRATA

Page 8 line 25 Read *aṭha* for *atha*.
Page 9 footnote Read *Mayā* for *Maya*.
Page 20 line 10 Insert < before *tūs*[illegible].
" 36 " 14 Insert *itu* before < *it*[illegible].
" 37 " 8 Insert *jane* before < *-janah*.
" 46 " 22 Insert < before *kṛtya-*[illegible]

